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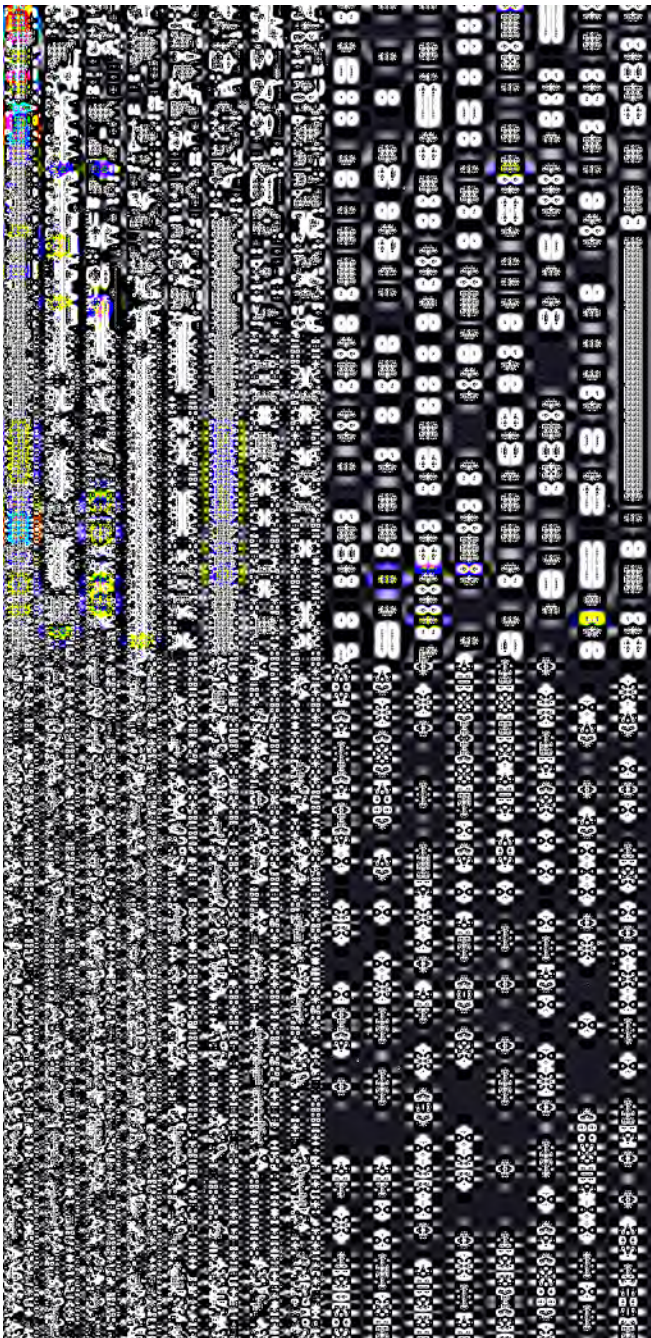
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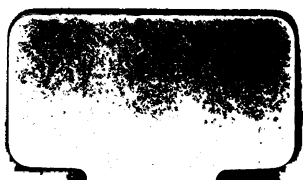
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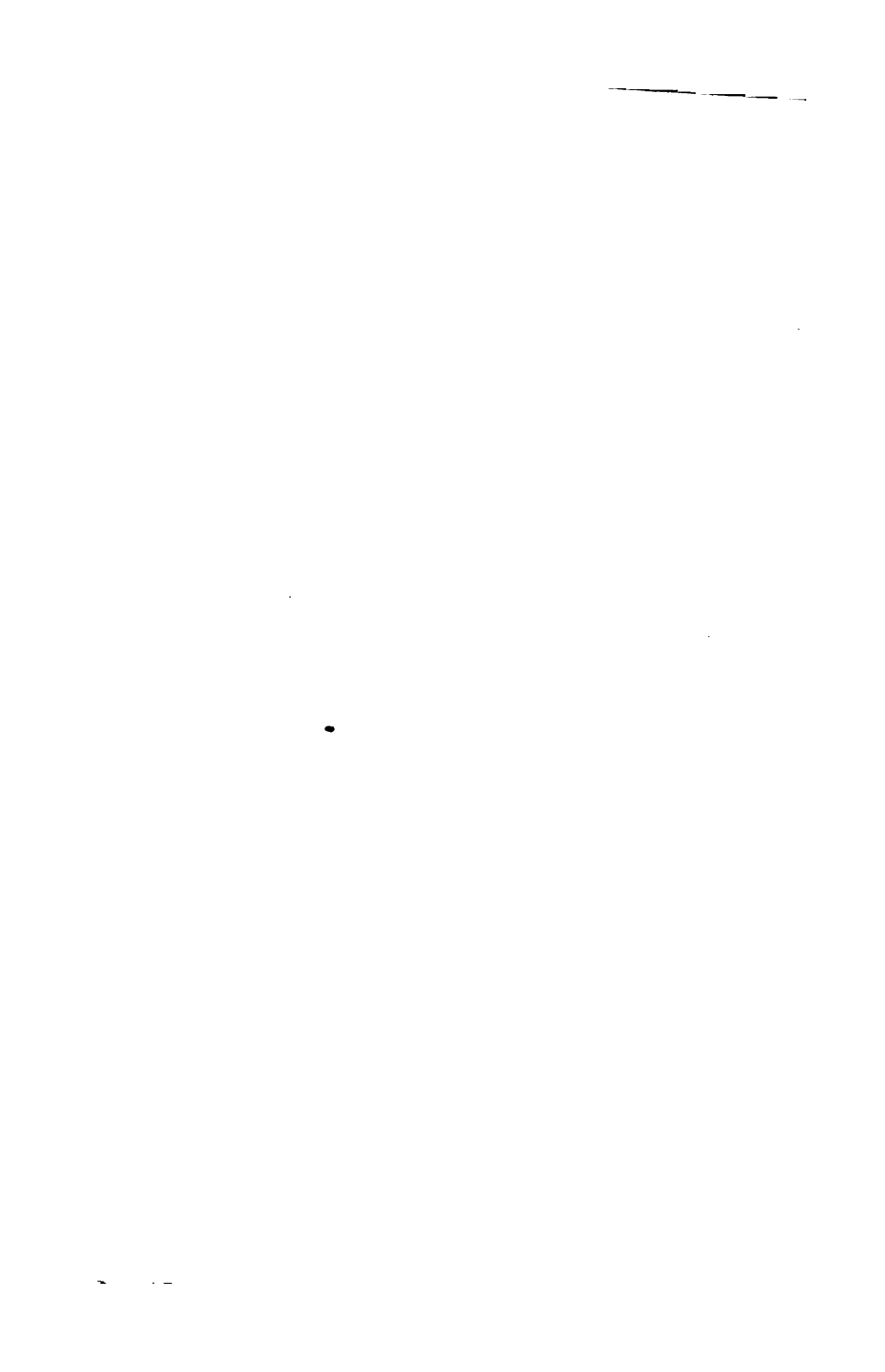
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CHRISTIAN POLITICS.

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CHRISTIAN POLITICS.

BY THE

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AND LATE

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AMICIS
AMICO MELIORE DIGNIS
QUIBUSCUM HÆC ET SIMILIA
UT COLLOQUIIS JUCUNDISSIMIS DISPUTATA
ITA IN OFFICIIS
PRO ECCLESIA ET PATRIA SUSCEPTIS
NON SINE SPE FRUCTUS TENTATA SUNT
GRATUS ERGA DEUM CLEMENTISSIMUM
QUI PLURIMAS VITÆ COMMODITATES
TAM SANCTÆ NECESSITUDINIS CARITATE
CUMULAVERIT
G. S.

P R E F A C E.

THERE is one feature in the following pages which requires explanation, lest it should seem to exhibit and encourage the very errors against which they are intended as a warning. It is, the absence of reference, first, to the authority of other writers in support of opinions; and, secondly, to historical facts in illustration of principles, which properly constitute the philosophy of history.

The former deficiency has been caused by a temporary separation from books, which has prevented the fulfilment of an original intention to arrange the same ideas, as might easily have been done, in the very words of men whose names would have commanded reverence—of Plato and Aristotle, of Cicero and Seneca, of Hooker

and Bacon, of Butler and Burke, of our own lawgivers and jurists, of the Fathers of ancient Christendom, and especially of the great philosophers and divines of our own Anglican Church.

The other deficiency is intentional. For reasons elsewhere explained, historical facts cannot safely be made the grounds of political science. Induction is not the mode in which Christians will search for principles, where Revelation has provided them already. And even in their proper place, as illustrations and confirmations of principles, their evidence is often so suspected, motives are so disputed, circumstances so confused, causes and effects so hidden, and when traced out so questionable, that by resting on them we run the risk of diverting attention from certain truth to doubtful arguments, and of losing the demonstrable principle from its connexion with the disputed fact. Theory, indeed, is valueless and mischievous as opposed to facts. But truths, however general and abstract, which have been conveyed to men by Christianity, are as much facts, and are as much supported by the proper evidence of all historical

facts—the testimony of the senses—as any occurrence in history.

It is idle to suppose that political theories of any kind can be put forward without meeting with condemnation. And even where truth is maintained, it is hard to avoid all occasion for just censure in the mode of stating it. A firm belief will often seem to slide into dogmatism, and the authority with which those are bound to speak who would speak only under the authority of their Church must sound like arrogance. We must seem, while avoiding one extreme of error, to be approaching its opposite, and to omit one face of the whole truth, while occupied with another. And there are real and just grounds for anxiety in the present day, which may well excuse more than ordinary distrust and suspicion.

I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to avoid occasions for misapprehensions even in the use of words. And where the word ‘Catholic’ has been used, it has been retained lest by degrees a title so venerable, and so necessary for the defence of the gospel of Christ, should

come to be appropriated, whether by Romanists or others, in a peculiar sense not warranted by genuine Christian antiquity.

If a deep and awful reverence for our blessed Mother Church of England; if a belief, confirmed by every inquiry, that her doctrines are consonant with Scripture, with Apostolical teaching, with true reason; if an earnest desire to abstain from every opinion which she would condemn, to submit to her lawful rulers, and to serve her only as she herself calls upon her ministers to serve her; and if a painful but deep-rooted conviction, drawn both from personal observation and from reading, that, whatever be the virtues of individual Romanists, the system of the Papacy itself is essentially and radically anti-christian, and can only be corrected by the entire abandonment of its fundamental articles;—if these things, openly and consistently professed and acted on, and at great sacrifices of personal interest and feeling, cannot save servants of the Church from the charge of meditating its corruption and inclining to its bitterest enemies, little remains but boldly to maintain the truth

in the sight of Him who sees the heart, and to abandon all vain attempts to save it from the obloquy of men who know not what they do.

It is often presumption to take into our own lips the words of wise and holy men, whose lives in so far, far greater degree than our own, realised what they professed; and yet I would fain send this little book into the world with the following prayer of one who was a great light and ornament of our Church:—

“ My hearty desire and prayer is to Almighty God, the Father of mercy, that He would so bless the ministry of the Church of England, that we all being linked in love, as it were with chains of adamant, might, with one heart and one hand, religiously build the temple of the Lord, reverently perform holy obedience to God and the Prince, carefully keep ourselves unspotted and unstained of this present world, and faithfully feed the flock of Jesus Christ that depends upon us. The comfortable accomplishment whereof, whosoever shall maliciously hinder, let him take heed lest a fearful curse from the God of Jacob come like water into his bowels and like oil into

his bones ; but whosoever shall pray for the peace of Jerusalem, peace be upon him, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God. The furtherance of which blessings, to the glory of Christ and the good of the Church, men and brethren beloved in the Lord, is the mark I aim at, and the scope I intend ; that we all, like obedient children, may keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.”¹

¹ Sermon by Francis Mason, B.D., on the Authority of the Church.

CHRISTIAN POLITICS.

CHAPTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The following remarks are the substance of a conversation which passed some time since between us, when we were walking together on the cliffs at D——. It was the evening of an autumnal day, and the winter was approaching. The morning had been grey, and overhung with dense mists, which rolled in volumes along the sides of the opposite coast, and left bare only a dim outline of headlands and precipices. At noon they had swept away, and the broad expanse of ocean was glittering under a brilliant sunshine, like a shield of silver. But with the evening came cold and storm. Dark heavy piles of clouds surged up from the horizon, and towered round the sinking sun, as if menacing it with tempest on the morrow. And scattered vessels were hastening to take refuge from the impending storm, in the bay which stretched beneath our feet. The conversation had been grave and sad. It had turned upon the past history and coming fortunes of the British empire: and I think it was yourself who observed in the scene before us a touching and obvious analogy to the prospects which we had been contemplating in the political revolutions of the country. From these we passed on to the

theory of political society in general. And I remember that several of the opinions, which were then hazarded, rather as suggestions for inquiry, than as dogmatic conclusions, appeared to you new and even paradoxical. And even if true, you considered that they would be practically useless, because it would be impossible to bring them home to the minds of statesmen.

And yet it was agreed that the science of politics could no longer be reserved as an exclusive study for philosophers, or for the few who take the lead in the government of modern empires. The representative system has brought nearly the whole population of this country, in some degree or other, within the duties and the responsibilities of government. Every individual who possesses or can influence a vote, if he would exercise his trust upon the ordinary principles of integrity and prudence, is bound to deliberate with the same caution, and to act with the same wisdom, as if in his single person he was responsible for the decision of every question which is brought before the representative legislature. A single vote in parliament must turn the scale; and the nature of that vote must depend upon the constituent who decides the majority in the election; and, as each constituent may possibly be that man, each is bound to act as if he certainly would be; since contingencies, in moral cases, carry with them, nearly always, as much obligation as absolute certainties.

This view, if you remember, of our political condition, instead of satisfaction and triumph, filled us both with considerable awe. In the eyes of that Providence who portions out the measures of retribution upon mankind, nations, no less than individuals, are responsible beings. They have their virtues and their vices, their good deeds and their

crimes, their punishments and rewards. And for the most part they are punished and rewarded for the sake, and in the persons, of their rulers. Even if there should appear to be much less difference externally than really exists between the fate of democracies and tyrannies, yet to suffer innocently by the misconduct of another, and guiltily by our own, are very different things. And the thought, that by the principle of popular representation the guilt of misgovernment is spread over the whole mass of the people—that where vast interests are at stake, rashness, thoughtlessness, even ignorance becomes a heinous crime—and that rashness, thoughtlessness, and ignorance, are the almost necessary accompaniments of popular acts—this thought was full of alarm.

It seemed to involve the duty and necessity of endeavouring to bring the theory of political society more within the range of general education; of familiarising even young minds with some of those fundamental principles on which it ought to be constructed, and especially of Christianising it. For, like many other studies, the Science of Politics for some time past has been dealt with in a spirit essentially Heathen. Whether from an affectation of candour, or from a false confidence in powers of reasoning, or from coldness of heart, or from real practical infidelity disguised under the name of liberality, we seem to have consented to wave the very profession of Christianity in discussing the constitution of Society; and to treat it, as if we were at liberty to adopt the same method of argument as Aristotle or Plato—we who possess a Revelation, as they who had none.

In following up this reflection we were led to state the conclusion at which we had arrived in a form which at first startled and perplexed you.

And as the same effect might be produced upon others, it is necessary to guard against it.

There are occasions in which it may be both safe and wise to exhibit truth in striking shapes, even though they appear as paradoxes. When thoughtless inattentive minds are to be roused to inquire and think,—when conclusions are to be cast into terse, portable, axiomatic forms, that they may be retained in the memory, even before the process of reasoning them out can be pursued—or, at times, when a sudden check must be given to some popular extravagance by suggesting its opposite principle—it may be excusable, and even desirable, to risk apparent paradoxes. But there is one subject, in which they should scarcely ever be hazarded,—the subject of religion. It is not only too sacred to bear even the appearance of levity or rashness; but to familiarise the mind with the reception of novelties, or of seeming novelties,—with curious speculation, with the indulgence of logical ingenuity, with a passion for discovery, and a distrust for simple truths, is to unsettle the very foundation of Christian faith. Quietness and simplicity are the characteristics of a Christian understanding. And excitement and curiosity are ill purchased by the sacrifice of such a temper. For these reasons I would not willingly hazard in any observations that follow even the appearance of paradox. And therefore the suggestions which startled you in the abruptness of conversation may better be thrown into another form.

We were inquiring, what was the proper mode of studying the Science of Politics in a Christian spirit and upon Christian principles. Let us consider first, the mode in which it would be studied by a Heathen, in the spirit and upon the principles of Heathen philosophy.

He would commence probably, as Aristotle has led the way, by a careful collection and comparison of the facts and phenomena of Society. He would examine different forms of government, different laws, different habits, and trace their causes and results in the history of nations. From these he would evolve certain general principles; the adoption or exclusion of which, in the formation of Society, he would recommend according to his own preconceived notions of good or evil. He would find that a free government was favourable to the accumulation of wealth; and if wealth was in his mind a good, he would advise that which encouraged it. He would observe that popular representation diffused a certain kind of intelligence; and if this kind of intelligence seemed to him conducive to happiness—that is, a good—he would pronounce popular representation a good also. He would in this manner decide upon the good and evil of political society. And without such a decision, speculation on such subjects is idle. But having advanced thus far, he must advance still farther. If he believes at all in a Great Maker and Cause of all things, he must know that nothing can be good which is opposed to His nature, or estranged from His being. He must desire to be assured that what man has fancied to be good, is good in the eye of God. And he cannot be satisfied with any knowledge of God's works, which does not lead him up to God Himself. Even in the world of matter Science cannot rest, without struggling to mount up from earth to heaven. If wisdom be the knowledge of causes, there can be no true wisdom short of the knowledge of the One Great Cause. If happiness is sought, as it must be, in some external object greater and better than ourselves, there can be no perfect happiness, and therefore no contentment, until we have reached the throne of the All-Mighty

and All-Good. And so in Political Philosophy, in the study of God's greatest earthly work, the constitution of human society, the reason of man cannot rest without ascending from the creature to the Creator. And upon what axiom will he make this ascent? What great truth will he take as a fundamental postulate, in order to infer the nature of the Creator from the nature of His works?

He must assume that between an Intelligent Being, and the product of his Intelligence, there must be a close and essential relation. All reason acts towards some end. Its movements are never vague, capricious, or aimless. But that end is a conception of its own. It foresees, imagines, plans out in idea, before it executes in practice. A child may take up a hammer and a chisel, and blindly hew out a block of marble, without being able to give an account, or explain the intention of any of his movements. But a Phidias, while the marble is lying in its rude and shapeless mass, has already visioned to himself the form which it is hereafter to take; and to the production of this form he directs his energy. This, as far as human experience extends, is the universal law of reason. Nor, however we may be perplexed by metaphysical difficulties arising from the difference between a finite and an infinite nature, can we proceed to reason upon the operations, even of a Divine Intelligent Creator, without employing this analogy. The idea of the work lies within the mind of the worker before the work itself exists, and the work is a copy of the idea. The invisible things of God are seen by the visible. Upon this principle rests the whole argument of Natural Theology. From contrivances for producing happiness even a child will infer that the contriver is himself benevolent; from distractions and blemishes in the creation he concludes that the Creator willed

not this world to be our ultimate rest and Paradise; from providential dispensations of justice even now, he concludes the existence of a justice which will one day render to every man according to his works.

These principles are obviously sound. And upon them the Christian, like the Philosopher, must take his stand. But they must be fairly and fully carried out. The Christian will have a right to demand from what source the Philosopher has obtained the collection of historical facts on which he builds his induction. And the answer must be, from the testimony of man. No individual experience can accumulate enough to support an argument. Upon the validity, therefore, of historical testimony rests his whole superstructure. What, again, is the faculty by which the Philosopher educes from these materials his general principles? It is the logical faculty of a single individual. It is not the reason of human nature itself, or the intuition of those grand eternal principles which God has implanted in all hearts, indissolubly, indelibly, universally; but the art of argument, which varies, and fails, and errs; and is as likely, when uncontrolled by a superior power within the mind, to evolve falsehood as truth. Whence does he obtain his primary conceptions of the nature of good and evil? If from his own sensibilities, these also are capricious and wavering as a quicksand. If from the eternal laws of all human affections, by which we love virtue, and hate vice, these also can have no firm foundation, except as built up by the Creator of man in the depth of man's nature; and thereby assuring us that they possess a reality and a being external to man himself, and permanent in the nature of God. And on what principle does he infer the attributes of the worker from the characters stamped on the work? Upon a principle, which infers as cogently the nature of the work from the

nature of the worker. If Natural Theology can ascend by such a ladder from earth to heaven, with far greater facility can Revelation by the same ladder descend from heaven to earth.

It is not said, that a Christian will arrive by this process at the method which he is bound to pursue in studying Political Science, as perhaps all other sciences; for a Christian acts by faith prior to reasoning. But it is said, that he will be enabled by it to justify, even in the eye of Philosophy, a conclusion which, without it, must take the form of paradox. He will reverse the steps. He will begin by placing before him the same end with the heathen; the knowledge of God—the knowledge of God, whether considered as the highest and ultimate subject of man's thoughts and affections, or as involving the knowledge of all laws, the rule of all actions, the model of all creations, and, therefore, of political creations. He will be assured that, if he could once discover the essential attributes of the Divine Being, he would find in them a key to all the problems of the world; and that, whether he studied the constitution of society as a speculation or in practice, simply to understand its mysteries, or to assist in realising its perfections, in each case alike he could obtain no better guide than a knowledge of the will and intention and nature of Him who formed it. He will ask where that knowledge is to be obtained. And three offers will be made to supply it. There are the physical works of God, in which the secrets of His nature lie scrolled and blazoned in ten thousand mysterious symbols; and before which Natural Theology stands vainly endeavouring to peruse them, as hieroglyphics of an unseen hand. There is the voice of God within us, speaking in our conscience and in our reason; but it is deadened, and

obscured, and blended with the cries of our own passions, and with the wanderings of our own imagination; still it is the voice of God Himself, telling us His nature and His laws; and telling them to us far more intelligibly and distinctly than any material symbols can, as the eye interprets better than the hand. But there is a third interpreter remaining. The Church Catholic (is it necessary now to repeat, that this is not identical with the Romish Church?) offers to supply him the very knowledge which he requires, cleared from indistinctness, drawn from the first and highest source of all knowledge, from God Himself; not evolved by any human reasoning, or rendered doubtful by its fallibility, but conveyed unchanged and unmixed from age to age; and stamped and guaranteed in its identity and perspicuity by being cast into the form of words, and there permanently fixed, with the same reference to a Divine sanction, under which the truths themselves were first divulged to man. She offers this knowledge to the Christian under the very same guarantee, under which the Philosopher is compelled to receive the facts which constitute the materials of his reasoning—the historical testimony of man—but a testimony as far superior to the witness which can be produced for any considerable number of political phenomena, as the evidence of a vast body of independent witnesses, solemnly pledged on the most solemn of subjects, given publicly and uniformly under every temptation to suppress it, persevered in through eighteen centuries, perpetuated through every revolution of society, maintained in every variety of circumstances, countersigned and approved by the greatest and most penetrating intellects, and confirmed by appeals to every other authoritative tribunal, is superior to the casual capricious observa-

tions of individuals, confused with their own fancies, and recorded without any responsibility.

If the Christian accept this testimony; if through it he receives the declaration of the Church concerning the nature of God — that is, her Creeds; if from their declarations he would infer the general characteristics of God's works as well as of His being, and, most of all, the characteristics of that work which is the greatest and noblest upon earth, and to which all others seem subordinate, the Political Society of man, what Philosophy can presume to censure him, without condemning the very principles on which its own speculations are conducted?

CHAPTER II.

SOME such considerations as the above induced me to hazard the remark, which struck you as fanciful and paradoxical, that the commencement of all Political Philosophy should be laid in the study of the Creeds of the Church, and especially of the Athanasian Creed.

This is not the place to argue for the validity and correctness of this formulary as a genuine and faithful exposition of revealed doctrine on the subject of the Divine Nature. This lies in the province of Theology. But a member of the Catholic Church, as such accepts her testimony, and acquiesces in her authority. He cannot throw aside her declarations in a research where, if true, they must be vitally necessary to his success, without tacitly impugning her veracity, and repudiating his allegiance. To rationalise,—that is, to commence his inquiry with no other light but his own logical faculties, with no other materials but such as he has collected himself,—is an idle and silly presumption, except upon the supposition that no other assistance is to be obtained. To reject such assistance is to deny its existence, or its value. No man will trust to nature only to cure a disease, except he doubt the efficacy of medicine. No one hazards himself in a battle without arms, except he despises them. No judge decides a cause of life and death without hearing a witness, unless he believes that witness to be unworthy of credit. It is sad to think what amount of real practical infidelity has been nurtured in all classes of so-

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ciety by the cool and settled determination with which Christians have lately been accustomed to throw themselves in intellectual inquiries of all kinds solely upon their own resources. And in political studies, as in all others, a real practical Christian and member of the Church will be distinguished from a practical Heathen by recurring boldly to that knowledge and that aid which the Christian Church supplies him. He will not endeavour to discover the nature of the Divine Being from the hieroglyphics of His works, but to decipher the hieroglyphics of His works by the knowledge which he already possesses of His nature; and he will derive that knowledge not from his own fancies and speculations, but from the declarations of God Himself revealed to him historically through His Church.

And his task will be infinitely more easy. Which is the more difficult process—to discover the key by the cipher, or to read the cipher by the key; to extract the general laws of physics, of botany, geology, or chemistry, from a mass of undigested phenomena, or to trace them when once established in those phenomena? When a language is placed in the hands of a child, do we compel him to unravel its meaning by his own comparisons and inductions, or supply him with the rules of grammar, and require him only to prove and illustrate them? And so in the study of that science which is next to Theology itself in dignity and value, the science of Political Society, who will plunge into its mysteries and labyrinths by himself, to extricate himself by his own unaided efforts, when it is in his power to explore them with a clue and a guide, which at the least has probability in its favour?

I say, probability, because perhaps it may not

be demonstrable, that reasoning from the abstract attributes of the Divine Being to the nature of His works is in all cases equally just and cogent. From His moral attributes, indeed, to His moral creation there would seem to lie a necessary inference. A Being of justice cannot be conceived to dispense injustice ; nor an Author of benevolence to frame a system of cruelty. But between the intellectual nature of God and the intellect of man there may seem to be an impassable gulf. And between moral and intellectual attributes and a material creation there may appear such essential differences, as to preclude them from being accepted as types and copies one from the other. And yet even here, practically, we acknowledge a wonderful analogy. All the language in which we describe the character and operations of mind is taken from matter. We speak of a ' great ' mind, of ' elevated ' strength, of ' low ' desires, of a ' hardened ' conscience, of a ' clear ' understanding, of a ' brilliant ' imagination, of a ' black ' heart, of ' foul ' passions. All these are metaphors—metaphors taken from the material world—taken not by compact and convention, as words intrinsically inapplicable, and requiring to be stamped by art with other new significations, but offering themselves by an internal fitness and similitude to express unseen and spiritual ideas. So also, not by art but by instinct, we learn to read the movement of mind in its action upon matter, and in the form which it impresses upon matter. In the outline of the face, in the tones of a voice, in the gleam of eyes, in gesture, in walk, in dress, in a thousand nameless signs, we recognise passions and buried deep in the secrets of the heart.

We not only read but create them by the same material symbols. The painter, the

tor, the architect, the musician, are all shapers and moulders of the material world. But their whole scope and aim is to reach and affect the mind. They cannot reach it except through the body; through the eye, and the ear, and the touch, which receive immediately nothing but corporeal impressions, and yet are the channels to the soul. But even when these avenues to the soul are opened, they would be as far removed from it as ever, as wholly excluded from any commerce and communication with it, as the inhabitants of another planet are from this earth, unless they had within their reach signs, symbols, analogies, resemblances of spiritual things, stamped by the hand of Nature herself upon the external creatures of sense, and which they could present to the mind; as savages learn to offer for barter only objects which the civilised eye can understand and appreciate.

The further we pursue this observation, the more we are compelled to acknowledge the fact of a wonderful similitude, analogy, and correlation between the material and the spiritual world—the more we find it practically asserted and acted on even by the child and the peasant, who yet never heard of the doctrine ‘of ideas,’ nor could comprehend the abstract theory, that of all created things the primary archetypal forms lie hidden in the being of their Creator.

But let us now contend not for a hasty assumption of such a fact, however strongly it may be supported, but for a cautious and reverent application of it to the theory of Political Society—the application of it as an hypothesis—as a question still to be solved—with the same reservations and willingness to abandon it, with which any experimental Philosopher proceeds to test the general law which has been suggested to him by a casual

phenomenon, and holds it in his mind suspended and undetermined until it has been confirmed by experiment. Let us claim for it as yet no further weight, than that which is given by every Political Philosopher to his first hasty induction, before he has matured and established it. For a Christian, while he gives to Revelation the reverence, the awful reverence, and value, which is due to the Word of God, will beware also how he employs it to purposes for which it was not designed. We may be bound to go before the ark and consult it in trials and emergencies. But we may not be permitted to carry it out to battle as a charm against the enemy. It may be our highest wisdom to accept in all fulness the declaration of the Church Catholic respecting the Divine Nature; but there may be hidden and unalterable reasons, which would render it presumptuous to apply them to the explanation of created phenomena.

But with this sober and reasonable caution, a Christian may safely proceed to try his experiment.

He will observe, then, that in the Athanasian Creed, as sanctioned by the Church, there is contained the most formal, abstract, generalised, and technical statement of the Divine Nature. It is the metaphysical formula of all revelation. All the other parts and facts of Christianity fall and range themselves under this grand doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, and an Unity in Trinity. And the power of abstraction can proceed no farther. He here reaches the cause of causes—the highest and parent source of all other truths—that point in the ascending scale of knowledge, short of which human reason will never be contented to stop; and beyond which it cannot pass. As a Christian, he has been placed, as by the hand of Angels, upon that pinnacle of the temple of truth, which Philosophy, with stumbling, wandering footsteps, is vainly endeavouring to reach

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by a path of its own discovery; and from this he will endeavour to look down and discern its reflection imaged in all the forms that lie before him in the mirror of the created world.

He will not be startled with the fact, that this parent truth is a stumbling-block to the human understanding; one which the mere logical faculty of man could not reach, and in which it cannot acquiesce, except under the wing of faith. He receives it upon the authority of God, by the voice of His Minister and Prophet—the Catholic Church. And he is not surprised to find that the highest generalised formula of a world of mystery and problems should itself be a mystery and problem. But while all human speculations on the subject divide themselves into two classes; one, the most intellectual, contending for the Unity of the Creator, and the other, the voice of the populace, proclaiming Plurality; he will be struck with the deliberate firmness with which Christianity asserts a doctrine embracing both, without attempting to reconcile them by reasoning. When he considers the firm, solemn, uncompromising, peremptory voice in which both these truths are enunciated, and the warnings with which they are accompanied, it will impress on him the necessity of fixing them steadily before his mind in all his inquiries, and of maintaining them combined in the same form and relation in which revelation presents them. They are antagonist doctrines, set as barriers against the extravagances of human intellect on the one side, and of human passion on the other. To the vulgar sensualised mind, distracted and divided by its appetites, the doctrine of the Unity is most strange, and therefore most necessary to be enforced. To the Philosopher, whose law of thought is order, system, perspicuity, demonstration, in one word unity, under some form or other, the doctrine of Plurality pre-

sents a barrier, which must be maintained inviolable. And as it is the Philosophical Study of Political Science on which we are now supposing the Christian to be entering, he must fix most prominently and primarily before his eyes the doctrine of Plurality. He will then ask himself if these two doctrines, both rigidly guarded and combined, do not constitute the type and model upon which creation has been constructed, the law under which all other laws are ranged, the key to all the phenomena of the world, the highest ultimate expression of all beauty, and all goodness, and all truth, as they are the highest ultimate expression of the Mystery of the Divine Nature.

And a single glance at the constitution of the world in general will reveal a multitude of facts tending to confirm this hypothesis. When he looks at the material world, at any department of natural science, he will see that the whole business of philosophy is to trace some one general law—some one pervading form through an infinite variety of combinations. Every leaf, and every flower, and plant, and tree, and all the classes of animal life, from the zoophyte to the elephant, are constructed upon principles of organisation, which the farther we trace them, resolve themselves more easily into certain grand comprehensive formularies, which themselves, we are instinctively assured, are *réduceable* under some one head, though we endeavour to discover it in vain. The streams of being branch out into myriads of currents, but we believe—we cannot but believe—that there is some one fountain-head. They exhibit a plurality in unity, and an unity in plurality.

We look to the mind of man, and we trace it passing from infancy to boyhood, from boyhood to manhood, from manhood to age, from age to death,

through innumerable changes and affections ; each moment colouring it with some new feeling, or impressing on it a different idea, and still its very being consists in its identity and permanence. It is a fixed point amidst a whirl of external vicissitudes, with which it combines at every moment, and yet is identified with none, preserving its own distinctness while it enters into all their forms ; until man arrives at his maturity and perfection, an unity in plurality, and a plurality in unity.

We examine the laws of morals ; and there also perfection consists in affections which unite minds without destroying their individual distinctness ; in obedience, which harmonises actions without converting subjects into slaves ; in firmness and consistency of conduct, which reduces the vacillations of human thoughts and feelings into order and permanence, while still they are permitted to exist ; in energy, which masters and subdues opposing wills and forces ; in quietude, which maintains an unity of being amidst all the vicissitudes of the world ; in faith, by which a multitude of intellects (vary as they may in power, in situation, or in age,) are yet capable of receiving and preserving one eternal, immutable body of truth ; in reason, of which the one object and paramount law is, to extract from a chaos of phenomena one pervading universal truth, while the phenomena themselves are permitted to retain their distinctness and reality.

So it is with the world of imagination. Every theory of beauty embraces two elements at once. One colour will not constitute a picture ; and yet over a variety of colours there must be thrown one tint and tone. One line will not form a statue ; and yet, from a multiplicity of lines, the sculptor must place before the eye some one consistent image. A building is a crystallisation of forms ; yet towers and pin-

nacles, arches and vaults, aisles and niches, fretted roofs and sculptured corbels, windows flaming with all the colours of the rainbow, and carvings wrought into a labyrinth of net-work—all these, when brought together by the hand of a master, are framed and dovetailed into one grand plan, realising one idea, permeated with one spirit. The Poet brings upon the stage not one, but a multitude, of characters; he represents life in all its forms, the human mind in all its phases; his very excellence consists in the comprehensiveness and versatility of his conceptions. But if he understand his art, he will link together not only his acts and events by their relation to some one end, but even the most sudden changes and incongruities by some main key-note. When Shakespeare passes at once from the awfulness of Macbeth's thoughts after the murder of Duncan, to the vulgar ribaldry of the Porter at the gate, he makes that ribaldry turn upon the thought of Hell. So it is in music—so it is in oratory—so it is in every production of human fancy: simplicity and variety; intricacy and regularity; order amidst seeming confusion, and multiplicity in apparent identity; discords harmonised; contrasts reconciled; deficiencies supplied; irregularities corrected—these are the triumphs of art. But the triumph is achieved only when both elements are preserved together—distinct but not separate—combined but not confused. The law of beauty, like the law of morals, is unity in plurality, and plurality in unity.

And the Christian will think it possible that it may be the same in the construction of Political Society. And the greatest of Heathen philosophers will at once confirm the supposition. When they criticise or speculate on the theory of a state, their first thoughts are directed to its unity. Unity is its being, its essence, without which it perishes. And yet

no theory of society was ever framed, even in the most elevated abstractions of philosophy, which did not provide in it for the element of plurality. It must establish relations between the governors and the governed ; between the divers, varying, uncertain multitude of passions, affections, and opinions contained in the popular will, and the one uniform permanent principle of justice, which constitutes law, and which is embodied in the lawgiver. But when the people are merged in the King, society is lost in despotism ; and when the King is merged in the people, it is broken up and scattered to the winds in anarchy. The whole history of nations is a struggle between these two principles — between liberty and law. Now one has triumphed, and run into extravagance, and now the other. Perhaps, by some happy accident, the equilibrium has been preserved for a moment, but the slightest disturbance will destroy it, and the oscillations will again commence : and then always they have been most fearful, when no attempt has been made to hold fast both seeming oppositions ; and some theory, either of an arrogant philosophy, or of a still more arrogant licentiousness, beautiful to the human eye from its absolute simplicity, and, for this very cause, still more fearful than beautiful, has taken possession of the mind ; and in the attempt to follow headlong one dominant unbalanced principle, a nation has precipitated itself into the very contradictory extreme ; and again, from that, has plunged back into the former, until, wearied and exhausted, like sailors with the rolling of the waves, when all hope of steering is lost, they give themselves up to despair, and sink down under the first strong arm which is able to throw them into chains.

And if such is the history of civil society, and such apparently the law of its perfection, the same

law and the same history are still more palpably presented on the face of that spiritual society, which is, in even a more especial manner, the creation of God. "Neither pray I for these alone," were the words of our blessed Lord, "but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one: as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me. And the glory which Thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one" (John xvii. 20). And St. Paul, still more distinctly: "There are differences of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of ministrations, but the same Lord; and there are differences of workings, but it is the same God who worketh all in all. . . . For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptised into one body. . . . For the body is not one member, but many. . . . If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing; or if the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now God hath set the members each one of them in the body, as He willed. And if all the members were one member, where were the body? But now are there many members, but one body. . . . And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular" (1 Cor. xii. 4-27). In the same manner it is said, "This is the mystery of the will of God, according to His good pleasure which He hath purposed in Himself; that in the dispensation of the fulness of times He might gather together in one

all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in Him" (Ephes. i. 9). This is the consummation of all things, "that when all things are subdued unto Christ, then may the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 28). This is the law of that assembly of the first born, which was "chosen and ordained before the foundation of the world" (Ephes. i. 4); "for the manifestation of which the earnest expectation of the whole creation waiteth" (Rom. viii. 19); in the hope of which "it was made subject to vanity;" into whose "glorious liberty it shall hereafter be delivered from the bondage of corruption," in which it "now groaneth and travaileth in pain" (Rom. viii. 21). "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all" (Ephes. iv. 3). So union, the closest union, with Christ its head, is the essence of its life. "So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies; he that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church. For we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church" (Ephes. v. 28). In the same union we are commanded to "grow up to Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ; from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love" (Ephes. iv. 15).

And to the same blessed end the finger of Prophecy is perpetually pointing—to a time when all nations and all languages shall be united in one faith, “fearing the name of the [*one*] Lord from the west, and His glory from the rising of the sun” (Isa. lix. 19); when one city shall be as the centre of the whole world, “its gates open continually, that men may bring unto it the forces of the Gentiles, and that their kings may be brought” (Isa. lx. 11); when friends and foes shall be joined in one service; “the sons of strangers building up its walls, and their kings ministering unto it;” when all that disturbs and deranges shall be removed from the world, “and every valley be exalted, and every mountain and hill be made low, and the crooked be made straight, and the rough places plain” (Isa. xl. 4). And in that blessed kingdom all is to be peace and concord. “The wolf will dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid” (Isa. xi. 6); and nought shall either hurt or destroy in the holy mountain of the Lord. Beauty shall be without defect, and glory without dimness: “the stones shall be laid with fair colours, and the foundations with sapphires, and the windows made of agate, and the gates of carbuncles, and all the borders of precious stones” (Isa. liv. 11). Wisdom will be boundless, “for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea” (Isa. xi. 9). Life be endless; “for there shall be no more an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days” (Isa. lxv. 20). Happiness will be pure; “for all tears shall be wiped away from the eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain:” and goodness be unalloyed; for into that “city of God there shall not enter in any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie” (Rev. xxi. 27).

Unity shall be fulfilled throughout, yet unity consistent with variety, and with the distinctions which constitute the relations on which the virtue and happiness of man are framed.

Such is the character and perfection of that Polity to which all Revelation points as the object of this creation, and the consummation of all things. And when we turn to the first establishment of the Church upon earth, which is its womb and germ, still the same type recurs of infinite diversity combined with one paramount law of unity. Diversity of gifts, diversity of offices, diversity of tongues, diversity of local congregations, diversity of forms, diversity of services, diversity of subordinate opinions, diversity even in the outward shape of the one universal creed; diversity in the fortunes and the character of churches; diversity and collisions between the powers of the world and the State, and the powers of the priesthood and the Spirit; and still one Spirit working all in all, one faith, one Head, closest intercommunion, inviolate attachment to one Apostolical authority; perseverance in one path of tradition, adherence to one rule of faith, asserted as the primary condition of its existence. And the history of the Church, like that of civil states, is but a lapse from this state of perfection in which it was first placed, when both the principles were maintained, of plurality as well as of unity — a lapse first into exclusive unity, which took the form of Popery, and then of exclusive plurality, which engendered all the schisms and dissensions of these latter days.

CHAPTER III.

ONE important effect will follow from viewing Political Society in this light, as a realisation upon earth of the Divine Image and Perfection in heaven. It will bring the Christian to look on it with far more reverence, more humility, more dread of tampering with or disturbing it, than the present age encourages us to feel. We have been taught by a modern Philosophy to regard it as a means, not an end—as a machinery for obtaining some other good, not as a good in itself; and consequently we have learned to despise it. We have made it a police for the preservation of life, a joint-stock company for the accumulation of wealth, a warehouse and mart for luxuries and comforts, a resting-place and fortress where we may be secured from the attack of enemies, a discipline for the development of civilisation, or, at the best, a school for checking and controlling our vices. It is, indeed, all this; but it is much more. And to forget that it is more, is to place it on a level with other conventional contrivances of man, which, having man and man's interests for their object, possess no dignity beyond humanity; and which man thinks himself entitled to alter or dispense with according to his own calculations of expediency. Hence the doctrine so commonly received, that the state was made for individuals, not individuals for the state; hence the direction of public policy, not by high views of right and wrong, but by considerations of per-

sonal interests; hence appeals to the popular voice, not as a valuable and necessary witness, which, in many things, it is, but as an adviser and a judge; hence the decision of the most solemn questions, in which, by the corruption of our nature, the many must be on the side of wrong, by the will of the many; hence the contemplation of a nation as composed of so many parties, not capable of being combined in one body and harmonised to one end, but severed by conflicting interests, in which the strong must triumph to the destruction of the weak; and hence the presumption and rashness with which the fabric of an existing constitution, and the principles of an ancient legislation, are mocked at, and torn down, and replaced from day to day by some new speculation or experiment, until the whole system, if system it can be called, becomes a mass of incongruities and contradictions; and in the very multiplicity of legislation, law itself loses all its obligation. These evils, and many like them, have arisen from the simple fact, that Philosophers, in studying society, have pursued their inquiries by Induction instead of Deduction. They have discarded the light of Revelation, and with it the thought of God. Then has fallen upon them that thick darkness in which nothing is discernible but earth and things of earth. Then man and the concerns of man became their only object. And as individual man is too little in his nature, too feeble in his powers, too short-lived in his existence, too narrow in his views, to comprehend the whole magnitude of Civil Society; as he is, and ever must be, only a part of the machine, a cog in the great wheel of political events, Society, considered in itself, could not be to him an end. He could not grasp it, realise, attain to it. There have, indeed, been patriots to whom the well-being of their country was their chief good,

their happiness, and their glory. But such an elevation of character is very rare, and too often is mixed with much that is chimerical and fantastic. The great mass of mankind can know nothing of it; and even in the wisest and best it too often becomes enthusiasm, which aims at what is not within its reach. For our own happiness may be attainable, under God, by our own properly exerted energies; the good of our country is at the mercy of others besides ourselves. And thus, as the existence of society could not be an end to man, and yet was viewed only in relation to man, it could only be considered as a means. But a means to what? Only one end was left—the good of individuals. Then came the happiness of the greater number to be regarded as the object of society. And with every new theory of happiness came a new theory of Society—plans for new constitutions and new governments; of which the greater number professed only to regard the lowest and most vulgar of worldly interests, because minds which, in any speculation, have not liked to retain God in their thoughts, must sink into debasement and sensualism.

From all this melancholy aberration, which has degraded and perplexed nearly all the political philosophy of modern days, as it has disturbed and endangered our political practice, a Christian may be saved by considering Political Society as a creation of God, as intended to represent His image upon earth, as standing in relation rather to God than to man, as being an end to God, if, indeed, any thing can be an end to a Being in whose infinite sight means and ends must be the same; but, at least, as partaking in the dignity and nature of the whole created universe, which itself, and not any part of it, was contemplated in the designs of Providence, and the whole of it pronounced good. The heavens

do, indeed, embrace the earth in their compass, and minister to its wants. The stars give it light, the sun warms it into fruitfulness, the moon sways the tides of its ocean, the orbits of the planets act as guides and warnings, and mark out times and seasons. Yet the earth was made for the heavens, not the heavens for the earth; and Society was not made for man, but man for Society, and Society for God. And he who regards it in this light will reverence it as an awful and holy thing, which he may not lightly tamper with, or break up, or think to improve by some fanciful experiment, or degrade to an unworthy purpose, or speculate upon as if it were capable of maintaining its existence, except in that form in which its Creator framed it. He will be patient under any trials to which he may be exposed as a part of it. He will trust its well-being and its issue to the Hand which made it, and for whose glory and pleasure it was designed. He will expand his view of its destination and its vicissitudes, to embrace, not his own short life alone, nor any series of human generations, but the whole history of man. Every nation, and every fortune of every nation, will form a link in the great chain of human society, all leading on to some great end, not to be accomplished fully till the work of creation is completed, and time enters into eternity. He will not permit the interests of individuals, or of days, to affect acts which, bearing on society, bear thus upon all futurity, and not on the universe alone, but even on its Maker and its Head. And he will beware lest any act of his should mar or should hinder the development of that Divine Image which He, who cannot behold any thing greater or better than Himself, must delight to contemplate in every part, as in the whole compass of His creation, whether it be formed at once out of the dust of the earth, and perfected by a word, or evolved

slowly and indistinctly, and in the midst of conflicting disturbances, through the agency of man. For man is employed in creating it. He works together with God. It is his highest privilege, his noblest occupation. And in this great art of divine sculpture he must not think of pandering to the tastes of vulgar eyes, of consulting the caprices of the many, of chiselling away lineaments or adding features at the suggestion of each new comer, to obtain applause or gain money. This, which is the political quackery of the day, can produce nothing but a monster. Neither will he be satisfied with working after some pattern in his own imagination, for which he has no sanction but his own desires; knowing that those desires are delusions, and will change with every change of circumstances, and other forms rise up to tempt him, until work after work is thrown aside in disappointment and disgust. This is the folly of speculators who theorise on speculation only. But he will act as the great sculptor of Greece, or as the painters of a better age when they ventured to embody their conceptions of their Divine Lord in the form of man. Phidias, before he presumed to sculpture his statue of Jupiter, gave up his whole mind to the contemplation of the Jupiter of Homer. And while Art was still regarded as the handmaid of Religion, and subjected to the control of the Church, it seems to have bound itself to one fixed representation of our Lord, and that a copy from a model which, at least, was supposed to be true. This is the Political Science and Political Art of Christianity. It will endeavour to realise upon earth what it knows to be reality in heaven. It will measure good and evil, beauty and deformity, by an externally revealed standard of the Divine Nature. Its work will be a work of religion, touched with the same awe, finished with the same care, contemplated with

the same devotional thoughts; with the same abstraction from selfish and mercenary calculations; with the same insensibility to the censure or applause of a mob, with which, in cells and cloisters, painters, though most erring yet devout, absorbed themselves in the creation of forms which were to stand, however wrongly, in temples and on altars, and to fill generations of worshippers with the spirit of Holiness and Love. And this was wisdom and goodness in art, which yet created nothing but shapes of wood and stone. How much more in that art which, in forming or in modifying Society, is dealing with a living creature, a creature which is but a human being magnified and made all but immortal,—which has the same feelings, the same brute instincts, the same blindness of thought; but with far more ease becomes a prey to passion, and when it acts in passion, acts with the force of a giant and the ferocity of a demon, even as when it is subjected to truth and law it becomes the very image of God.

CHAPTER IV.

It was mentioned before that the doctrine of plurality is far more opposed to the conceptions and expectations of human reason than that of unity. Unity, indeed, is the very law of reason, its object and its good. The work appointed to the Logical faculty in man is to reduce many facts under one law—to throw a chaos of materials into form and order, of which order unity is the constituent element—to penetrate through a mist of future contingencies, in which all is shifting and indeterminate, and to trace out some course of events, fixed, definite, certain, and uniform. It follows up a chain of effects and consequences, from cause to cause, until it reaches One First Great Cause. It analyses till it arrives at atoms. It unravels till all perplexities and complications are laid out in single threads. It supplies defects and restores decay, till shapes imperfect, abrupt, or mutilated, acquire the unity of wholeness and completion. And then it has discharged its function. But till then it is restless, uneasy, and dissatisfied. And when Christianity commands it to receive as an ultimate fact, beyond which it must not and cannot penetrate, a doctrine in which plurality is an essential element, it revolts, and rejects it. It has but one hand. It cannot hold two truths unless it borrows the arm of faith; and by throwing itself entirely upon some one authority, and submitting to this unreservedly, it is enabled to grasp all which this authority enjoins, however apparently incongruous, and to hold fast a

multiplicity of principles by means of an unity of testimony.

This temptation to obliterate all appearance of plurality, wherever philosophy is admitted, will make a Christian peculiarly careful to maintain it. He must guard against his own weakness. And in examining the constitution of Society he will be prepared to recognise and preserve it, even before its antagonist principle of unity.

For instance, it has been the dream not only of ambition, whether in despots or democracies, but of a speculative benevolence in cloisters and closets, to merge all national distinctions upon earth, and to throw the whole race of mankind into one vast empire, held together by the bond of an indiscriminating Philanthropy, and concentrated round one head. It is a grand and elevating conception. But a Christian will detect in it the absence of the essential element of plurality, and be prepared to reject it. He will rather expect to find mankind cast into nations as into shapes and moulds of various forms, properties, and uses; some in one stage of development, some in another; passing severally through various revolutions; maintaining a national independence; linked indeed together by many bonds, and as their spheres of influence spread like circles in the water, breaking in upon and disturbing each other, but still formed round separate centres, and exercising distinct functions. He will search for some principle of unity by which they may be held together, and formed into one system; but it must be a principle which does not exclude the distinctness and individuality of nations. And what he might anticipate from reasoning, he finds confirmed by revelation. The earth was divided (Genesis x. 25), and languages confounded, and families scattered (*ibid.* xi. 7), and

bounds set to the nations, by the same Hand which framed mankind. And the very globe itself, fractured, and ridged, and partitioned as it is; here walled up with mountains, here insulated in seas, here trenched off with rivers, and here barred and blockaded as it were by wildernesses and deserts, is constructed, not as one great hall in which all mankind may rest together, but as a house with many mansions, a hive with many cells.

So also, when a Christian contemplates a particular state, he will insist on maintaining in its constitution the two elements out of which it must be framed — a governor and a governed. Not only in the popular will, but in the visions of theorists, that often appears the best form of Society in which all should be governors alike. The very thought of weakness, of imperfection, of counteracting tendencies, of the surrender of inclination, of the necessity of obedience, of the want of protection, mars in philosophical speculation that logical unity and completeness which it desires to realise in all that it sees. To attain this, it does not hesitate to overlook the fundamental conditions of human nature, and to destroy, if it were possible, the very relations upon which Society itself is constructed, and which generate the duties and virtues that constitute its happiness and perfection. But a Christian, even were it possible that in any combination of men all should be equally wise, equally powerful, equally wealthy, even equally good—a Christian would miss in such a state elements which, mysterious as the fact is, exist even in the Being of the Almighty—dependence and obedience, inferiority and superiority; from which flow love and faith, self-sacrifice and self-government, and all the highest virtues of our nature. He would require to find the weak as well as strong, the bad as well as good, the ignorant as well

as wise, the subject as well as ruler. And he would maintain the principle of unity, not by excluding either element, but by harmonising them together, according to some paramount law.

In the same manner, when he directed his attention to the inferior member of this fundamental relation, he would guard against any theory which would level ranks, equalise property, or obliterate the natural distinctions of age, sex, talent, or power. With him not equality, but inequality, would be the primary condition of a people in whom the perfect form of Society was to be realised. Instead of reducing all classes to some one type and occupation, instead of converting them, for instance, into a wholly manufacturing, wholly commercial, wholly military, wholly agricultural, or wholly ecclesiastical population, he would divide their functions, and vary their character, so as to comprise all arts, and all faculties, which may be developed without injury to higher interests than the external conveniences of life. "If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?" And reverently pursuing this analogy, so repeatedly sanctioned in Scripture, he would endeavour to frame a body politic on the model of the individual body of man, with feet to move, with eyes to see, with ears to hear, with hands to guide the plough or wield the sword, with fingers framed together by some exquisitely organised incorporation to execute every work which the ingenuity of the reason might devise. He would establish plurality among the people; and then proceed by another law to infuse into them that spirit which should bind them together in the unity of the Spirit and in the bond of peace.

So also with the governing body. In any well-combined and consistent organisation every part

repeats and preserves the type and outline of the whole. The branch is framed upon the same model with the tree, the twig with the branch, the leaf with the twig. In the highest productions of architecture the same principle of beauty which regulates the grand outline enters into every detail, and the smallest leaf, which creeps along the canopy of a Gothic niche, is moulded upon the same great law which hangs the vault of the temple upon empty space, and throws up the spire into the clouds. A Christian Philosopher, therefore, will be little perplexed, if he finds in practice, what he might anticipate in theory, that in a Christian State the principle of plurality must enter into the constitution of the government itself. However necessary it is that the Head of a State should be one, that it should act with one will, concentrate the affections of the people round one point, diffuse its blessings from one source; though Unity be so essential to it, that without it, the State ceases to exist; still it must be an unity which does not exclude a certain plurality. In what manner the two are to be reconciled is a separate question. But if the primary type of the whole body politic is to be preserved in each distinct member, even in the government itself they must co-exist. It will, therefore, be no surprise to the Christian to find in a Christian State two ultimate supreme Authorities—one Civil, and the other Spiritual; each claiming its authority from the same Divine Source; each independent of the other, each ministering its peculiar function; portioning out their respective power, exercising their respective jurisdiction, as in distinct societies—clashing frequently with each other's claims, and trespassing on each other's rights when human passions obtain the mastery over divine laws; claiming both of them the respect, the affection, and the allegiance

of the subject, upon the very ground that neither is dependent upon the other; and both equally divine; and yet by their very counteraction and distinctness maintaining the Supreme Power of Government, and the Unity of Society. A Christian—a Catholic Christian—not one corrupted by the dreams and the avarice of Romanism—will recognise the independent authority both of Church and of State. He will regard them both as one government, though he may be unable logically to separate their several provinces, or to guard against occasional collisions. He hears the voice of revelation confirming the rights of each; and he will have no preconceived theory of exclusive unity tempting him to merge either, with Popery, the State in the Church, or, with Erastianism, the Church in the State. Such a binary principle in the construction of Government may be a problem and a mystery, but so also is the Essence of the Divine Nature, and the law of the constitution of the world.

Once more. It is essential for the unity of the State, that its personality should be exhibited, and its executive power wielded by some one individual. This is not merely a Christian theory. It is the practical result of all political experience; and the reasons may be shewn hereafter. But a single individual is powerless. Neither his eyes, nor ears, nor arms, can spread over a whole nation, or grasp all the complexities of its interests. The Head, whether he be a King, or a President, or a Protector, or a First Consul, or a Dictator, or a Tribune, must assume to himself instruments and auxiliaries. But these are men; as such they possess independent wills, and those wills swayed often by selfish passions and personal opinions. Hence, the more the machinery of Government is extended, the more it is exposed to thwartings, embarrassments, inconsistencies,

oppositions, and rebellions. For the ministers of power must themselves possess power; and the irresponsible Head of a vast body cannot guide it, without at times imparting to his agents irresponsible power like his own. To escape from this difficulty many opposite theories have been adopted. Some rulers have confined the office of government to as few hands as possible, and excluded the great mass of the people from any knowledge of, or interference with, its operations. Others have selected the ministers of their will only from the lowest class—men precluded by their original position from aspiring to power, and bound by gratitude, and still more by interest, to the master on whose breath every thing they value must depend. Others, like the Despotisms of the East, have permitted to their subordinate agents almost absolute power, reserving to themselves the prerogative of crushing them by an arbitrary act the moment any danger is apprehended from them. Others have endeavoured to reduce the influence of their ministers so low, either by sowing jealousies between them, or by prohibiting all independent action, that with the power to rebel they lose also the power to serve; as if a workman should blunt the edge of his hatchet, fearing lest it should cut his own hand. And others have promulgated a theory of absolute submission, in which all moral responsibility is lost, and he becomes the most loyal subject, and most devoted Christian, who abandons himself to the will of his master, as the most abject slave. And all these contrivances have proceeded from an unwillingness to bear patiently with those delays, obstructions, and counteractions, which must be the lot of every power that cannot be exercised without instruments, and in employing instruments creates also barriers to its own omnipotence; as the waves throw up banks by which their own fury is restrained.

But a Christian, prepared for the principle of plurality in every part of society, will consider the multiplication of inferior officers in a government, even coupled with this condition, not only as necessary, but as in itself a good. He will promote it to the utmost possible extent, consistent with that degree of unity of will, and simplicity of action, which are essential to government itself. The supreme power of the state, according to his theory, will throw itself out on every side, penetrating, as it were, with its roots and fibres, the whole mass of society, absorbing into itself all the healthy and congenial particles which it can find; organising from the materials, thus accumulated, new channels for its own vivifying influence to diffuse itself, and new mouths by which to imbibe its nutriment; and deriving strength and vigour from every fresh access to its machinery. And he will think that no better criterion can be named of the strength and health of society than the amount of organised agency safely employed in its subordinate ministrations.

Once more. It is indeed necessary for the unity of the State that its supreme authority should be vested in the hands of an individual. But by this very disposition it becomes liable to all the abuses of individual will and frailty, by which the peace, stability, honour, power, and integrity, of a nation are destroyed. All acts which thus injure a people, or rather all vice, and injustice, and detriment, are in themselves violations of the principle of unity in some form or other. And to preserve it from such violation, a variety of contrivances have been invented. The ingenuity, indeed, of politicians has been chiefly employed in this direction. For this purpose the kingly power has, in some States, as in ancient Egypt, and generally in the East, been overawed, and placed in a moral subjection to the hier-

archy. In others it has been encumbered and controlled by the assistance of an aristocracy of counsellors. In others the people have secured to themselves the command of the public purse. In others certain great functions of the executive government are perpetuated in officers not amenable to the crown. In others the paramount authority of law is maintained as distinct from the power of the lawgiver, and subjects and king alike are sworn to maintain a written constitution, instead of binding the subject to allegiance to a personal sovereign. In States which have thrown off the monarchical principle (seemingly, —for, as we shall see hereafter, it cannot be done in reality), the same jealousy and distrust is shewn, by dividing the supreme power among many hands ; or by distributing it in rotation ; or by making magistrates responsible to the people ; or by abridging their tenure of office ; or by so hampering the exercise of power with restrictions and counterchecks of supervision, that it can scarcely be exercised at all. And these devices, many of them futile, and many mischievous, proceed alike from a desire to maintain a society in exclusive unity, without any toleration whatever for those frailties in man, and for those sins and calamities which flow from them, which are all exhibitions of the principle of plurality ; that is, of discord, dissension, disturbance, disappointment, disorder, and all the other miserable concomitants of falsehood and lawlessness, hatred and wrong. But a Christian, who in the very mystery of the Divine nature, as revealed to him by the Church and in the Scriptures, reads of a provision for the final extirpation of evil, which implies its temporary permission, and even its occasional triumph in this world, will not be less patient, less long-suffering, than the Author of all good Himself. He will indulge no dreams of the perfectibility of the

world, or of the possibility of excluding either vice from the heart of man, or abuse from the exercise of power, or evil from the condition of society. He will endeavour to provide all such checks, and preventives, and remedies, as are compatible with his primary obligations. But he will neither so multiply the restraints from evil as to shackle the motions of goodness; nor will he vainly think of preventing the abuse of authority by destroying authority itself, and fly, as so many have done, from the temporary injustice of a monarchy, to the permanent tyranny of a democracy.

And what is true of the excesses of rulers will apply also to the excesses of subjects. It is indeed one great office—not the only, but a principal office of government, to prevent and correct wrong. And, in impatience of its existence at all, legislators have exhausted their ingenuity in devising regulations of police. They would realise in the present world, peace, order, virtue, happiness, and harmony, in one word, perfect unity; and drive from it all their opposites. And, in this vain attempt have originated theories of absolute despotism,—laws steeped in blood, menaces of physical force, systems of espial and interference with the privacy of life, subversion of domestic relations, and the substitution of the State for the parent, even in the work of education. From the same source have proceeded the idle attempts to check differences of religious opinion by persecution, and the prohibition of free thought; and the far more wicked policy to suppress them, as at present in England, by suppressing the distinctions themselves of truth and falsehood. Under this fruitful head fall the history of penal laws, the theory of national education, the administration of justice, the exercise of spiritual discipline, the economical regulations which regard the morals of a people, the supervision of the press,

and, in one word, the greater part of those questions which relate to the suppression of vice and the encouragement of virtue by the State. And in all of them a Christian will observe the same patience and long-suffering, under the existence of moral evil, as is exhibited in the Divine Being. He will not expect to destroy it in this world, for this is impossible. He will not hastily root out the tares of society, lest he pull up the wheat also. He will not seek to make the perfect distinction between the good fish and the bad, while the net is at the bottom of the sea; but wait till it is drawn to land, at the last great Day. And, while stern and inexorable when absolute necessity requires it, he will be as gentle, as forgiving, as willing to overlook, as equitable in judging, as reluctant in condemning, as the Master whose minister he is. He will deal with vice and moral disorder as one who lives in a system from which the plurality of evil, with all its consequences, cannot be wholly excluded. And he will wait for its final reconciliation with the unity of goodness, in patience and faith, knowing that the system is progressive, and that its perfection must be accomplished only in the whole course of time, and not in any separate portion.

Lastly, the Christian, like the Heathen, will struggle to maintain the principle of unity in the permanent duration of the State. He will desire to frame a society, which, if it were possible, should last for ever. But here also he will make allowance for the principle of plurality,—that is, of change, development, decay, vicissitude, perhaps destruction. A state may continue to exist, though under very different forms; as the identity of the individual is not lost, though every particle of his bodily frame fluctuates and evaporates. While others would vainly endeavour to fix and petrify society in some one stage of advancement, or under some one form of

constitution; to throw up impenetrable barriers as divisions between castes and classes; to prohibit foreign intercourse, and internal occupations, which may generate new wants and desires, and with them introduce new elements and results into the composition of the state; to confine and limit education; to discourage the natural evolution of wealth and art; and to admit no modification or extension of an original legislation; the Christian, wisely indeed afraid of change, and eschewing innovation, will yet remember that time is an essential element in the condition of all earthly things, and that time implies change and succession, and succession is the principle of plurality. He has before him in the mystery of the Divine Nature—of that Nature to which, strictly speaking, there can be no time, whose Being is an eternal now—provision, nevertheless, for a creation which has a beginning, a middle, and an end; which has to pass through a variety of conditions; in which the Almighty reveals Himself “at sundry times, and in divers manners;” in which the “tree springs up from the grain, which is the least of all seeds;” and “the earth bringeth forth fruit, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear;” and the Lord, who comes to seek for fruit in His vineyard, comes seeking it “three years.” Every thing is gradual, progressive, in movement, tending to some great end, but that end not to be developed till the fulness of time is come. Light, heaven, earth, herb and tree, lights in the firmament, moving creatures to fill the waters, and fowl to fly in the air, cattle and creeping things, and beasts of the earth,—man, lastly, the image of God, and woman, to be his helpmate,—such was the six days’ work of an Almighty Being, who could, if He had so willed, have called all things out of nothing at one word, as He said, “Let there be light, and there

was light." And the servant, who is employed in his work of framing or tending a political society, will not think to be wiser or more powerful than his Master. He will pray and labour for its continued existence, but not strive to secure it by contrivances, which would imply that its being was not in time, or subject to change—change both within and without. He will provide room for its expansion, elasticity for its movements, freedom for the play of its members, a power of adaptation to circumstances, an antiseptic principle against a variety of corruptions, strength to withstand a succession of shocks, a spirit to discharge all duties and attain all virtues, a healthiness and power of growth which may enable it to live in any climate of external circumstances; and a hopefulness and faith for his own mind, which may look forward, and backward, and on every side, in tracing its gradual advancement; enjoying the contemplation of its life as an existence of successive generations, and patiently submitting to its death as a dispensation of that good Providence, in whom all things have their issues and fulfilment in some inscrutable good.

CHAPTER V.

SUCH are some of the instances in which a Christian, examining the constitution of Political Society, will acquiesce in, or rather will bind himself to maintain, the element of Plurality, while Philosophy in general will contend for its total exclusion. He will recognise it as a shadow, a reflection of one of the great doctrines involved in the first articles of his Creed, and in the mysterious Being of God Himself, the Author and Lord of society; and as such he will not dare to disturb it.

But accepting it upon faith, he may and must proceed to confirm it by reason. And here it is no slight proof, to observe the depth and tenacity, with which this element is engrained in the whole texture of human affairs, so that no ingenuity or force can obliterate or destroy it; and the very attempt to destroy only gives to it fresh life and vigour. Empire after empire has arisen in the struggle to bring the whole globe under one dominion; but the band has burst as soon as it has been rivetted, and the unwieldy masses have split and fallen into fragments. Nearly all the internal history of states is a record of conflicts between rulers and subjects, in which subjects would emancipate themselves from rulers, and rulers reduce subjects to slaves, and each party destroy the relation of two distinct beings by annihilating its antagonist. And yet every attempt to establish a tyranny only calls a democracy into more vigorous life, and every triumph of democracy ends in more complete subjection to external rule.

The present age has seen a whole kingdom, with all its ancient forms, established laws, deep-rooted prejudices, privileges, prerogatives, prescriptions, ranks, and property, swallowed up in one wild earthquake, that upon the levelled ground and rased tablet of a new theory there might be erected a perfect structure of "equality and unity." The structure has fallen to pieces in the very act of erecting it, and disclosed the old frame of society almost unhurt within it. The State at one time has endeavoured to extirpate the Church, and the Church at another to absorb the State within itself; but when Christianity has been abolished, it has been succeeded by a hierarchy of philosophers and a worship of Reason; and when the Temporal Power has been rendered impotent by Ecclesiastical aggression, it has risen up within the bosom of the Church itself in another shape, the shape of vast monastic bodies and organised societies, nominally spiritual, but in reality secular, wielding a secular power, and standing to Popery in the same relation as Kings and Princes of old, alternately overawing and supporting it. So the attempt to concentrate power in very few hands is the first step to its passing into the hands of many, either by the neglect and powerlessness of the ruler, or by the indignant extortion of it by the subject. So an impatience under existing evils leads to theories of imaginary perfection, and these theories to rash innovations, and these innovations to the very evils from which we were flying, only multiplied and magnified a hundred fold. And so an obstinate adherence to antiquity begets a passionate demand for change; and a denial of necessary reform, as we ourselves have seen, is followed by all but revolution.

"*Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*"

That which is an essential condition of Society cannot be eradicated from it by any force or any artifice.

And a Christian philosopher may then inquire why it is essential. That in the abstract nature of things there is a reason and a cause for the existence of plurality in the world he knows, because it is found in the Nature of God Himself. But he will search also in the Nature of man, and not hesitate to search deeply. For Christianity has its Philosophy as well as its Faith. And it will no more consent than mere reason will consent, to stop short of any depths which it may safely and legitimately explore. It is dwelling in a palace of truth, into which it has been brought by the great Author of the structure, not forced or stolen an entrance uninvited, in a presumptuous and rash curiosity. Where it is prohibited from penetrating farther, it will pause reverently and contentedly. But into all the open halls and chambers we may advance boldly and gladly; more boldly because the key to their locks and the clue to their labyrinths has been placed in our hands by God, in giving us the truths of Revelation through the ministration of His Church.

And indeed, in the present day, it is necessary to insist that the Science of Politics, if studied at all, should be studied deeply. We have become "practical men;" that is, men who, either from indolence or ignorance, have discarded from our thoughts all high generalisations, all abstract principles, and with them all necessary truths. We have plunged ourselves into the business of the world, in which every thing is fluctuating and uncertain, till life to us becomes a medley of accidents, and our whole thoughts are confined to calculations of contingencies, and the balancing of probabilities. In modern views there is neither stability for institutions

nor permanence for doctrines. We see the great tide of popular will swelling and raging round us, tossed about with every wind, and threatening to swallow up whatever it attacks. And having no firm footing for our own belief, no eye which can reach into a higher and purer atmosphere, whence we might look down serene and still upon all this stir and tumult, we become ourselves dizzy with the giddy whirl, and dare not hope or strive for more than to sink down at last in the torrent ourselves, decently, without violence, and as late as we can protract our fate. We have no knowledge of immutable truth, and therefore no confidence in its power and its permanence. We feel left to ourselves, to our own aim and our own eye. And we seize upon the first prop which offers, follow the first path which opens, with all the desperation of ignorance; yet dare not advance boldly in any track, but look back at each step with trembling and vacillation, and never hazard a movement in advance without securing a loop-hole for retreat. Our whole policy is full of apologies, compromises, concessions, conciliations, doubts, expediency, and experiment. And to make experiments with the fabric of society, is as if a besieged garrison should amuse themselves with trying the strength of their fortress by blowing up its walls. The very fact of experimentalising upon such a subject shakes and undermines those principles of faith and certainty on which the peace of society rests. No physician experimentalises on a patient, or permits the patient to know that he does so, till the case is pronounced hopeless, and the remedy unknown.

From this miserable political quackery, and its still more miserable effects, we can only be saved by recurring to a higher Political Philosophy. We must be tossed about on the civil convulsions of the

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It appears in the indiscriminate removal of all exclusive privileges, under the odious name of monopolies; in the multiplication of laws to meet every imaginary case; in the project of united education, in which Christian charity is to be cherished by the joint sacrifice of Christian truth; in the denial of all religious distinctions, as if such distinctions could be destroyed by affecting not to perceive them; in the proposal to absorb the whole population in manufactures, exclusive of agriculture; in the quarrel with all dogmatic statements which do not approve themselves, by their simplicity, to the reason; in the breaking up of local jurisdictions and provincial relations, that all the movements of government may issue from one centre in the metropolis; in applying to different states of society, in different parts of the empire, the same laws and the same policy, without regard to essential differences of character and circumstances; in endeavours to neutralise opposition by surrendering whatever is demanded; in the impatience and perplexity which have been engendered in the State by the revived power of the Church, and in the Church by the prerogatives of the State, as if we were incapable of comprehending the joint action of two co-ordinate authorities. And even in minds which would seem to be contending against it, it breaks forth in vain dreams of rallying the Catholic Church round some one visible centre; of erecting a spiritual empire upon the one base of spiritual authority; of defining all doubts in religion by the expansion of a dogmatic theology; and of restoring obedience in the Church by annihilating freedom of thought and action.

These are the reasons why I have dwelt so long upon the doctrine of Plurality. And now we may proceed to examine its adaptation to the nature of man. In the first place, it is inseparably en-

twined, even in our metaphysical conceptions, with Unity itself. Unity itself is a negative idea. It is that in which there is no break, no difference, no discordance, no opposition. But without the previous conception of these ideas, that is, of Plurality, we cannot arrive at the notion of Unity; just as Unity itself is essential to the conception of Plurality. They spring into the mind simultaneously; together they form the first idea from which all others are evolved; as the world of matter is developed, not from single atoms, but from groups and combinations of them. They form together the primary crystal of the human reason, and no force can fracture it.

Secondly, when combined with Unity, it constitutes the law and essence of all beauty, intellectual, physical, or moral. Without Unity it becomes deformity; but without Plurality, Unity has no charm. It is the beauty of the intellect to trace out order, but it must be from disorder; to detect resemblances, but it must be among differences; to attain clearness of vision, but it must be as one passing out of a cloud. There is no rest without previous labour; no satisfaction without previous craving; no enjoyment but of that which we doubted to attain; no triumph except over difficulties; no perfect pleasure till pain has gone before it; no perception of light except in contrast with darkness; no admiration without greatness; and no greatness where there is no conflict.

Thirdly, Plurality is an essential condition of all man's affections and duties, and therefore of his virtues. For affections and duties are the results of relations; and relations imply a plurality of terms, and differences in their nature. "It is not good for man to be alone." He cannot exist in solitude, and if condemned to it, peoples it with other beings by

the force of his imagination and the necessity of his nature. He must have objects external to himself on which to throw his thoughts and attachments. He must have many such objects, because his heart has many avenues to it, and his own affections are many and various; and his chief excellence and perfection, to attain which he is placed upon earth, is to practise a moral discipline over them all; as a gladiator would try his skill by fighting against a multitude of assailants. He is to be prevented also from throwing and exhausting his affections upon any object but one Being who is remote and unseen; and yet his whole tendency is towards such an exclusive absorption, against which there is no remedy but in a multiplicity of attractions; as they who tread on rocks and quags are compelled to rest and leap on many points, lest they should sink or fall upon one. Again, all earthly objects are imperfect, and must be imperfect; and therefore he must be surrounded with many, that when one is discarded, another may be at hand for him to embrace. He palls and satiates with any thing finite, and must be roused and amused with change. He lives wholly in the past and the future, never in the present, of which he cannot even be conscious; and his whole being consists in movement to some distant end, which, the moment he reaches it, ceases to occupy his mind. And for this reason it is necessary to place him in a moving and progressive system, amidst changes, and uncertainties, and contingencies, among which he may be constantly employed, either in searching out and anticipating something to come, or in contemplating something which has passed. And he has energies to be roused, and habits of self-government, and of hardihood, and reflection, and patience, to be formed and exercised; and none of these can find scope except in a scene

of conflicts, doubts, difficulties, and defects, which are the development of the principle of Plurality.

Fourthly, an individual cannot reach perfection in himself. He has only shared in the gifts of Providence, and these are "divided severally to every man according as He will." This principle of distribution, which constitutes the foundation of a system, from which system emanate the relations, communications, reciprocities, and proportions of life, possesses perhaps a beauty and excellence in itself to the Creator who has established it. But to man it is enough that He has established it. And by it man, when left alone, is like the spring or the wheel of a watch separated from the rest of the mechanism. He is born naked, blind, helpless, ignorant, in suffering and want, that he may be dependent upon others. His physical being can at no time be sustained without acts and labours in which he must be assisted by his fellows. His moral nature, even in a state of innocence, is composed of particular affections, that is, of a number of inclinations, among which, if any one obtains an exclusive mastery of him, the whole fabric of his moral constitution is disordered, it may be beyond repair. And until he can acquire a command over them by experience and practice, he must be controlled by others. How much more when he is corrupted, and his inclinations by indulgence have grown into passions! So his intellect by itself is powerless. He requires to receive from others even truths which are written in his own heart and mind, but which cannot become the subject of consciousness, till they are presented to him from without. He cannot command experience sufficient to warrant an induction. He has no knowledge of the past or the distant, except through the testimony of others. He has no check against the errors of his own logical calculations, and no means of realising

the visions which form in his imagination, except the aid of others. He is but the fragment of a man. His faculties must be unexercised, his affections waste without an object, his whole being pine and die, as one who has been shorn of his limbs, except he be associated with others.

And yet, fifthly, in this state of weakness, and incompleteness, and corruption, man is placed upon earth to be the minister of the Most High. He is entrusted with a share in the government of the creation. All things upon earth are destined to be put under his feet. Great and glorious truths are entrusted to his keeping. The discipline of creatures born to be higher than the angels is placed in his hands. Souls which, having once been born, can never die, take their colour and their fate from him. The very end and consummation of all things is made apparently dependent upon his will and conduct. Consider well this awful responsibility, this glorious but most perilous work; and then think if united aims and united counsels are not needed for those who undertake it. Think, for instance, if there is not palpable folly in a theory of religion from which the social principle is excluded, in which Christians are left to act, and feel, and think as individuals; and the notion of an external visible incorporation is exploded as a fiction of priestcraft.

Such are some of the reasons which render it necessary that, in any system in which man is called to act, Plurality should be an essential element, and a constituent part of goodness and beauty. And even more than this, even when it is found apart from Unity, in the shape only of disorder, deformity, and evil, we know that its existence is necessary, because it does exist in the world of an all-perfect Creator. It is necessary, to exercise our virtues; faith in doubt, fortitude in danger, patience in suf-

fering, self-command in temptation, thoughtfulness in difficulties, energy in mastering opposition, moderation in the midst of excesses, consistency when surrounded by vicissitudes. Without evil in the world there could be no free deliberate exercise of the will, without which there is no virtue. It is to be resisted, to be denounced, to be controlled, to be reduced into subjection to good. But for a time it must still be permitted to walk upon the earth. Man's nature is infected with a taint, and an element of poison is a necessary ingredient in the atmosphere which he breathes. So it has been willed and permitted by the great Author of all society. And the Christian, who acts as His minister, in regulating any portion of society, must act upon His model, and combat evil with the same weapons as the Almighty Himself, and none others; with the same endurance, as with the same firmness; and not think to exclude from his little province of authority that which God has not excluded from the creation of Omnipotence.

CHAPTER VI.

BUT the great problem of Political Society, or rather of all practice, and art, and science, is now to be solved. Given the unavoidable existence of Plurality, and the necessity of Unity also, how are they to be reconciled and combined? Take a multitude of human beings, each with a separate will and power of action, swayed by a variety of passions, and those passions shifting every moment; surround them with circumstances and influences of which no one combination can be to any two minds alike; let them be divided by self-love, and hidden from each other by the veil of the body, through which the mind can only be discerned dimly and by guesses; distribute to them different occupations and tastes; fill them with fears, suspicions, and doubts of each other's power, and with malice, and avarice, and all other unsocial vices; scatter them over a wide extent of country intersected with barriers and obstacles to mutual communication; cut short the term of their life, so that, in the attempt to bind generations together, the atoms should crumble off, as in twisting a rope of sand; and then think in what manner this incongruous, conflicting, scattered, severed, fluctuating quicksand of individual minds is to be reduced into one system, and consolidated into one durable mass, without destroying their individual vitality. This is the problem of Political Science.

And a Christian, when he proposes to solve it, will again inquire if he can find in any part of the Divine Nature, or of the Divine Works, a model and type of such a process, conducted by the All-

Wise Himself. He will do this before he frames a theory of his own from speculations on the human mind, or observations of history. These will follow after, to justify him in applying such a model to his own particular operations.

And he might perhaps find much to assist him by a careful and deep study of the same great doctrinal mystery which he takes as his fundamental fact. In the various relations and functions which Revelation distinguishes in the Triune Being of the Almighty Himself lie hid, we may reverently suppose, the laws of all other forms of personal communion and society. But a Christian will not presume to approach for the purpose of speculation such an awful mystery, in which the slightest misunderstanding becomes blasphemy, and all that man can do, is to guard against extremes of error, without reaching any distinct comprehension of truth, and in which he dares not use any language but the very words of the Church, lest even in the most carefully weighed expressions there should lurk some secret profanation.

He might also draw many inferences from the practical rules of social life which he receives from Revelation, and still more from the model of national life which was framed by God Himself in the Jewish Polity. But the former, like all the moral commands of Christianity, are general and wide—rather set as sea-marks on each side, to warn us against rocks and quicksands, than intended to define the precise line of our actions. And the Jewish Polity, created as it was for an especial purpose, and placed in a peculiar relation to the Divine Being, apart from all other nations, may contain in it elements not to be found in ordinary political societies. It is to be studied carefully and profoundly, but with caution in employing it as a model.

But there is another form of society directly established by God Himself; a form essential to the very being of man; within which every human being is cast who enters into existence; which is the germ and primary element of all Political Society; and of which the Christian has the assurance of Revelation that it is framed by the hand, and after the analogy and likeness, of God. Husband and wife, father and son, brother and brother, master and servant, are the relations by which man is raised in Christianity to communion with his Maker. The Church itself appears chiefly as a development of home; and domestic society is the peculiar privilege and province of the Christian. It is the first cast, if the figure may be reverently used, from the Divine Image; and as such it may be examined even curiously and minutely, although the Image itself we dare not approach.

In this examination the first element to be observed is a Power, supreme, absolute, irresponsible except to Heaven, unlimited except by the necessary conditions of all humanity, comprehending in itself all functions, prerogatives, and excellences, established by the Almighty Himself, and by Him intrusted with dominion over His creatures, as His Representative and Vicegerent, in the person of man. Man is the head, the embryo, the *punctum saliens* of domestic society.

But, secondly, "it is not good for man to be alone." He requires the element of Plurality. From him therefore, out of his substance, are taken the materials of another being framed after the same image with himself, similar in all essential characteristics, but shaped, independently of him, by the hand of the same Being, who raised man himself from the dust of the earth, and filled, independently also of man, with the breath of life by the separate

inspiration of the same Creator. This being, so formed, is given to man to be his helpmate,—joined to him that she may become one with him,—“bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh,” preserving her own individual being, nature, duties, and responsibilities, but still so completely identified with him, that no earthly power is permitted to put them asunder. She bears his name, shares his fortunes, is bound by his acts, devotes herself almost to be his servant, “to obey him and serve him, love, honour, and keep him in sickness and in health; and forsaking all other, to keep her only unto him so long as they both shall live.” She is a part of his body, and they are united in one Lord.

Thirdly, in this close union there is still observed a remarkable distribution of faculties, qualities, and offices. It is obvious that the characteristics of strength, energy, activity, command, and courage, are assigned especially to the man; and to the woman those of delicacy, gentleness, obedience, faith, patience, and all the softer virtues. But it is also to be noticed, that this division is conformable to the distinction which the best moralists and philosophers have established in the moral attributes of human nature itself. In the human heart there is a similar division of feelings and affections; there is the irascible principle, *θυμός*, comprehending all the emotions of a more elevated and masculine character, and the principle of appetite, *ἐπιθυμία*, which embraces the more gentle affections. So also in the very position assigned to man upon earth, and in all his operations, we recognise two elements, one of activity, and the other of passiveness. He must act, but he must also suffer; govern, but also obey; think, but also feel; resist impressions, but also receive them; contend, but also be vanquished; prove by reason, but also believe by faith; look down

upon a world beneath him, but upward also to a world above him. To attain his perfection he must realise in his own being the union of all those qualities which are distributed, in an especial manner, between two distinct sexes. Women must become firm as heroes, and heroes gentle as women.

Fourthly, the first effect of this division in the husband and wife, is to produce reciprocal command and obedience, and in this way a balance of power and an union of mind, preserving the independence and individuality of each. For without this there could be no moral relation established; and the wife, by sinking into a slave, would become the property of her husband, and the binary or bicipital formation of this the root of society would be destroyed.

This reciprocity cannot be more strongly expressed than by the seeming paradox of the Apostle: "The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife;"¹ or, to use the words of our own Marriage Service, the woman vows to "obey and serve, love and honour," and the man worships the wife with his body, and endows her with all his worldly goods. And yet, how is this possible? How can the same person be both greater and less, master and subject, in relation to another? It is possible, because there are two distinct elements of moral authority in the human mind,—one, power, and force, and energy; the other, weakness. Weakness, helplessness, fragility, suffering, misery, and want, have a dignity of their own. They command reverence, interest the affections, rouse us to obey their wishes and supply their wants. We uncover the head to a funeral as to a king. It is an ultimate fact of our

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 4.

nature. And hence the reciprocal empire of man over woman, and of woman over man. In one it is founded on power, in the other on the want of power; in the one obedience is necessary, in the other it is voluntary; in the one it may be enforced, in the other it cannot be; in the one it partakes of a physical and material nature, in the other it is moral and spiritual; in the one there is a pride in protecting, in the other in being protected; one gives, and the other receives, but receiving creates as much gratitude as giving; and one is called to action and dominion, while the other is framed to suffer; but patient sufferance extorts no less respect and admiration than the achievements of a hero.

All this is to be borne in mind, that it may be applied to elucidate one of the most remarkable analogies and phenomena in the construction of Political Society.

Fifthly. As from this biune source (if such a word may be invented without pedantry) flows the whole stream of domestic life. New beings are called into existence, with independent wills and powers of action; and these also are to be retained in perfect union with the head from which they spring; at the very time that it is the first duty and effort of the parents to augment the strength and perfect the faculties of their children, so as to make them capable of ultimately existing in separation from them. And how has nature, or rather the Author of nature, provided for this end? He has concentrated originally all power, rights, privileges, possessions, authority, and advantages, even life and being itself, in the persons of the parents. From them they are derived (so far as man can be the source of any thing,) to their offspring. The power of withholding or annulling is retained in the hand of the giver. Those hands are consecrated. They

act by commission from the Most High. They are armed not merely with earthly influences, but with mysterious and supernatural command over blessings and curses, which are ratified in heaven.

The new members of the little society are brought into it in a state of entire helplessness and want. They cannot move without the hand of the parents; can scarcely live out of their sight; draw their nutriment not merely from the labour, but from the very breast of their mother; are clasped in her arms, hang upon her neck, are fostered on her knee, continue still almost as if they were united with her frame. Thus spring in infancy the instinctive attachments which are the beginning of filial love. Once more the element of weakness exerts its power of attraction and command, and binds the parent to the child, as the child is bound to the parent by the opposite attraction of power. And when both father and mother are drawn to concentrate their affections on their offspring, they are drawn themselves more close, as lines approach each other by converging to one point.

But it is when the faculties of the children strengthen, and their eyes open, that the chief difficulty commences. The relation between them and the parent is gradually changing. They approach nearer to an equality,—equality in physical power, equality in intellect, equality in goodness; and soon that equality itself alters, and the parent becomes once more a child, while the child rises into a man. But the union is still to be preserved. It will be lost the moment there arises in the strong child any force or action antagonistic to the weak parent; and how can this be prevented, when nature itself seems to be daily calling it into play? This is the history of States, no less than of families; and the laws to be observed in this crisis are well deserving attention.

In proportion, then, as the physical inequality diminishes, the moral inequality must be more strictly maintained; not by depressing the child, but by elevating the parent. And the problem then arises, how to throw over the natural frailties, vices, and infirmities of men, which, in the parental character, are not obliterated, but rather are rendered more glaring and repulsing, a sanctity and dignity, which may maintain the parental authority in all its power over, it may be, the comparatively wise and comparatively innocent offspring. And one plan nature herself has devised in framing that binary arrangement of character which results from the union of the sexes. It gives the parent a double hold upon the affections and respect of the child. It presents to the child a far more perfect exhibition of humanity, and therefore a far nobler object for his love, than could be realised in any individual. Whichever element predominates in his own character, whether the irascible or the appetitive principle, the *θυμός* or *ἐπιθυμία*, there is a being standing to him in the relation of a parent, in whom it can find its proper object and natural attachment; and the excellence of the one parent will compensate for the defect of the other. The mother will teach the gentleness of the daughter to love the father, and the father teach the energy of the son to venerate the mother. In no one character could these several qualities, which the two great classes of human minds respectively embody and admire, be adequately developed for this purpose. In separate minds they may be; and in the conjugal relation those separate minds united constitute one object of filial obedience and love.

But this is not all: the parent is human, and the child is human; and man never can be to man an adequate superior to retain him in continued subjection, especially in the maturity of his years. Given the most

wise and most virtuous of parents, and an offspring equally wise and virtuous (for to rear up such an offspring is the object of domestic society), and how is the parent still to be raised above the child? It can be done only by clothing him with a more than human character; by placing him before the child as the representative of God upon earth; by giving to his acts and words the sanction of a Divine command; and by rendering obedience and reverence not merely a voluntary homage, or a moral obligation, or an expedient practice, but a religious worship, addressed to God Himself, in the person of His servant. In this way there will be no irreverent prying into the faults of the parent; no disappointment at imperfections, which the child can be taught to expect as in a human being, without impairing his veneration for the official character; no degradation in obedience under any altered relation of goodness or power, or in the meanest offices of love. The authority of the parent will continue infinite, as the Being from whom he derives it. It will extend over all acts, except where an equal commission has been given by the same Being to the child. It will strengthen with every exercise; become more holy and more awful as obedience becomes less compulsory; admit of no resistance except what is expressly sanctioned by God Himself; and preserve the unity of the family through every stage of its progress, without provoking collision or interruption.

And when the parent has thus been established in his legitimate supremacy, he will be enabled still further to bind together the several links in the chain of the family by imparting to the children various shares of his own power; taking them into his councils, borrowing their assistance, employing them as his representatives, trusting to them not only the care of their younger brethren, and the

task of raising them also to manhood, but the dominion over that inferior part of the society, which occupies the same relative position as the animal creation, over which man was placed himself by the hand of God.

Such seem to be the essential laws by which unity is intended by the Almighty to be preserved in families. And with this type before him, the Christian may proceed to inquire how far they are applicable to the same purpose in political society.

CHAPTER VII.

BUT before this can be done satisfactorily, it may be necessary to consider distinctly the essential differences between domestic and political society. We are speaking of States and the government of States, without having defined their nature or fixed their end. And it is possible that the two forms of incorporation may be so dissimilar in their aims, that no analogy can be pursued between them. The family, for instance, bears on it direct and palpable marks of its Divine origin. Its history is written in the laws by which our very being is created and preserved. But the State, to many, appears a conventional contrivance of man. The family embraces but a small number; the State extends over millions. The family seems limited in its functions; the State includes every occupation and profession, to which human skill can be applied. The family is composed of individuals; the State of families. And other differences might be noted.

But the Christian, bearing in mind the principle with which he commences his inquiry—expecting to find the great law of plurality in unity developed in the association of man, even more than in all the other parts of creation—and finding that to a certain extent it is developed in the natural constitution of the family, will still be led to anticipate a more complete realisation of it. The attributes of the Deity are infinite; and the works in which those attributes are exemplified will be infinite also. And the cha-

racter of plurality, with all its consequences of multiplicity, intricacy, variety, contrast, and relationship, will be as much developed in them as the principle of unity. •

Let us suppose that a being from another world, to whom the great mystery of the Divine nature had been revealed, were to visit this earth, and, alighting on some small island, were to see in it a single family, and to hear that this was the exhibition of the Divine Image in the person of man. What would be the cause of the disappointment which he would undoubtedly feel? It would be the want of plurality. He would look for greater vastness, complexity, and duration, than could possibly be realised in a single family. But this would not be all. For mere magnitude is not essential to the perfection of a representation. A copy may be made in miniature; and the symbol of the Divine nature may be, and is, traced with as much accuracy and completeness in the wing of an insect, as in the framework of the globe.

But there is a magnitude which is essential to perfection. It is that which gives scope for the full expansion of all the germinating principles which are contained in the original idea. Nature designs, and reason expects, that beginnings should have an end; and wherever we detect a dormant faculty, an undeveloped organ, an incipient movement, a capacity as yet unsatisfied, or a growing power, there neither nature nor reason rests till some other stage of advancement has been reached, in which there is no further appearance of incompleteness and progression. And it is because the family does not give scope for the full development of human nature; because it is not a form in which, by itself, we can attain to the "measure of the fullness of the stature of man," that an incorporation of

greater magnitude is required, and is created in political society.

And this is the answer to the question, what should be the size of a State, or the number of its members. That size and number which is required to bring out and exhibit all the faculties and capacities of man. The family is human nature in boyhood; the State is human nature in the maturity of its being.

Consider how many faculties there are in man which cannot be developed in the family alone. Imagine that the human race were broken off and detached from all other combinations; thrown back into the domestic form; and these forms completely insulated from each other; placed, as it were, in glass cases, without any power of breaking through the charmed circle of their own internal relations. How would they "crib and cabin in" the growth of that wondrous being man, "the noble in reason, the infinite in faculties, in form and moving express and admirable, in action like an angel, in apprehension like a God, the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!" He has an eye to embrace the universe; an ear to imbibe all knowledge; a tongue to witness to all truth before the face of worlds; a reason containing within itself the primary laws and forms of all created being; an understanding untiring and unfearing, which cannot rest from its labour in unravelling the mysteries of the world, and which, if denied its proper exercise, would create for itself tasks and toils, rather striving to number the sands of the shore, and to name the stars of heaven, than sit idly, gnawing upon itself. He has affections, which weary and pine till they can vent themselves upon some object of perfection, and absorb in it his whole being. He has hands, by which he can command the laws and elements of the

earth, and become their task-master, and compel them, at his bidding, to give up their treasures, and transmute themselves into any form. In that delicate and tender frame, which the mother suckles at her breast, and shelters in a cradle from the very breath of heaven, there is

“ A spirit with divine ambition puffed,
Which makes mouths at the invisible event ;
Exposing what is mortal and unsure,
To all that fortune, death, and danger dare,
Even for an egg-shell.”¹

There is a passionate tenacity of life, which will be content with nothing short of immortality, which toils for it, prays for it, slaves for it, believes in it, is certain of it, in the midst of a torrent of chances and a whirlwind of ruin, with an instinct as wonderful and mysterious, as if a man tossed into the ocean were to fold his arms and proclaim his faith that he could not be swallowed up in its waves. There is a restless longing to participate in the incommunicable privilege of the Divine Being, the privilege of creation. And Nature, like a nurse that would indulge the heir of a throne in toys that ape and imitate his future glory, whether to amuse his idleness, or to exercise faculties, which he may employ hereafter in vaster occupations of the same kind, submits herself to his moulding, assists his designs, suggests ideas, feeds and kindles his imagination, always withholding something from her own perfections, that man may endeavour to supply the defect, or correct the fault, according to the same laws of beauty upon which she herself is formed.

And there is a consciousness of power and independence, which demands scope and freedom of action in a vast field ; which will not be content with

¹ Hamlet.

battling against weak foes, with enduring petty ills, struggling through a cobweb of difficulties and perplexities, or even receiving enjoyments which are to be accepted passively, not won and purchased by man's own energies. It is his pride to be the architect of his own fortunes. Danger itself has a charm for him. Command and empire are the first thought of his heart; and command over those most able to command himself.

All these instincts and passions are innate in man. They are abused and turned into vices, but in themselves they are part of a noble nature, a nature destined to become the heir of a divine and eternal kingdom. They are to be trained, moderated, combined, turned into right channels upon good objects; not to be smothered or extirpated. And for their full growth and perfection they require a vast circle of action, an open atmosphere, unshackled operations, collisions on every side, combinations of various kinds, accidents even and evils, from which the quietude, safety, and happiness of the most perfect domestic union is sheltered and saved. And the fact is acknowledged by daily experience. Even the animal creation expel their young from the nest, when they become capable of providing for themselves, that they may attain their full growth and strength in another and wider stage of existence. And the first thought of the parent, as his child grows up into maturity, is to send him from the indulgences and softnesses of home into the rough wide world, that in it he may be disciplined into a man.

What, then, is the true relation between Domestic and Political Society? It is the relation of two concentric spheres, within which the embryo man is placed, as in a shell, to be nurtured and developed in the whole extent and comprehension of his nature.

His home receives him in the first stage of his existence, when as yet his eye is dim, his hand weak, his step faltering, his mind passive, his faculties only beginning to awaken. It surrounds him with influences and objects suited to the tenderness and susceptibility of his being. It exercises him with toys, guides him with a thread, feeds him with milk, chastens him with a look. But it would exercise, guide, feed, and chasten the whole man. The education of the child, even under its mother's eye, is to comprehend the whole of his faculties. His bodily powers, his corporeal affections, his taste and fancy, his understanding or logical faculty, his reason and faith, his self-dependence and energy, his power of choice and foresight amidst contingencies, his love and hate, his ambition and obedience, his gentleness and courage, are all to be drawn out, each in its proper place and according as nature permits, and to be combined, as far as can be in that stage of development, into the rudiment of a perfect man. Then the first shell is broken, and the boy passes into the world, to take his part in political society. But still he is incomplete. He has faculties not yet fully trained, capacities not fully expanded. And the State is prepared to carry on the same process which the home began, only with a severer discipline, with more laborious trials, with heavier burdens, with greater liberty, and in a vaster circle, proportioned to the advancement and growth of the nature which she receives into her sphere. And she does this—she acts as a schoolmaster—or rather, she bears as in a womb and as a mother her child man (child even in the fullest maturity of his powers upon earth), because beyond the earth there is another concentric sphere, holding within itself the State, as the State holds within itself the home,—a sphere formed upon the same model with them

both, the model of the Divine Nature,—comprehending the same relations, requiring the same faculties and habits in all who would dwell within it; a sphere of which the State is the type to the adult, as home is the type of the State to the child; and into which man, perfected upon earth, passes when the shell of earth is broken open, and he is admitted through the grave and gate of death into the kingdom of heaven.

Such is the view which the Christian will take of the relations established by God between the various incorporations of man, which proceed from His own hand. I have made no mention of the Church, because Catholic Christianity, whatever may be the theory of Romanism, does not recognise it as a separate part of this system. It is an integral element of political society, as it will be necessary to shew hereafter, and as the analogies traced out in the constitution of the family have already suggested. But there are two features in this system upon which it is necessary to dwell.

One is, the completeness of the work, the universality of functions which are assigned in it both to the family and to the State. Both are engaged in the development, and discipline, and formation of the whole man. In each, man is to be begotten, as it were, and created by man, partly by his own agency, partly by the ministration of others. In each the full image and perfection of humanity is to be drawn out, exhibited in a form composed of many individuals, each representing prominently some particular elements in the composition, while all partake of the same fundamental and essential qualities, and form one blended being, of one substance and many persons. Government in the parent, obedience in the child, protection in the husband, faith in the wife, power and activity in the

man, gentleness and submission in the woman,—all these, the many shades of the one colour of human nature severally expressed, are to be harmoniously combined, with the same ground of virtue and reason pervading and uniting all.

But what a contrast does such a view present with modern theories of legislation! How will a Christian reconcile with it the exclusion from the functions of government of its paramount and universal work, without which no duty can be discharged, and no attempt for good succeed? When we are told, on one side, by men without any profession of religion, and, on the other, by advocates of an exclusive ecclesiastical independence, that the State is not concerned with religion, that it has no right to take a part in polemics, to assert theological truths, to interfere with ecclesiastical arrangements, or to interest itself in the well-being of the Church; let us ask, What, then, is its work? It cannot be concerned with the education of man; for man, without religion, is and must continue as a brute. It has no right to enter on the province of morality; for the only true foundation of morals is the being, attributes, voice, and revelation of God. It cannot tamper with man's physical and material interests; for the whole good and evil of these, which are themselves things indifferent, depend on the measure and mode in which they are used or abused, and this measure can only be defined by morals, from which the State that is excluded from religion is also excluded by necessity. It has no power to proclaim any truth whatever with authority; for all truths are but mere opinions and chance-speculation, until they are shewn to have their being and source in the one great paramount universal eternal truth, the Being of God. It has no prerogative to exercise any power over man; for men, if not really equal,

will at least not confess their inequality. It strips itself of a commission from God by refusing to confess His name ; and its fate will be the fate of the salt, which is intended to purify the world, but the savour of which is lost ; it will be cast on a dung-hill, and trodden under foot of men.

It possesses power indeed, the power which any concentration of forces, which even mere bulk and magnitude, acquire when put in motion. And it must continue to generate and educate human beings, as a hot-bed will throw up weeds and hatch vipers, when it does not produce fruit. And it must profess to direct its efforts to some object, to the expansion or correction of some part of human nature ; either the intellect, or the taste, or the morals, or the body and its accessory wants. But refusing to comprehend in its view the whole nature of man, lest it should be compelled to comprehend religion, and the truths of religion, or Theology, it can act only on some one faculty, which it will swell into unnatural size and fermentation, until it has produced a monster. It will pamper the intellect, until a nation becomes, like Athens, a collection of idlers and babblers, passing their whole life in asking for something new. Or it will refine the taste, till, as in Italy, the very name of moral good is lost in the accomplishments of art. Or it will stimulate the irascible principle, as in Sparta, till the nation becomes a camp and nothing more. Or it will exercise the prudential faculty, till, as in Rome, a practical policy supersedes all deep philosophy and refinement of feeling. Or it will generate a Laputa of abstract thought, or a Sybaris of bodily indulgence, or an America of self-love and independence, or a Tyre of commerce. Or it will swallow up the whole body of the man, with all its variety of organs, as in one vast hand ; and that hand

delicate indeed and cunning in workmanship and contrivance, but begrimed with filth, callous with midnight toil, palsied and convulsed by fits with the alternations of a fluctuating employment, itching for money, and sordid with fraud and cheating, and betraying, even in its muscular strength, the sores, and gauntness, and emaciation of sickness and famine. Such is a manufacturing nation; and such is to be the state of England.

Secondly, from this view of the relation between the family and the State, it is evident that the one is as much a Divine Institution as the other. Both are equally necessary to the perfection of man; both are parts of one system for his nurture and development; both therefore designed by Providence, and provided for in the arrangements of Nature. And we may not rashly tamper with one more than with the other. The crimes most revolting to the heart are those which sin against the family: adultery, polygamy, filial ingratitude, neglect of children, violence against parents, incest, fraternal hatred, abandonment of domestic ties. But there are analogous crimes in the State; more heinous in reality, because more extensively mischievous; and only less startling and offensive, because we do not understand our real position within it. It is too vast for our comprehension. Our personal interests are absorbed in some little corner of it; and we do not feel the violation of relations and duties, which are themselves scarcely acknowledged. But those relations and duties exist in a fearful independence of our consciousness. *Cedipus*, the murderer of his father, and the marrier of his mother, was not conscious of the act that he was committing; and yet his fate is held up as a picture of the deepest horror and suffering which ever befel mankind. And so it may

be with those who violate their obligations to their country, and shelter themselves under the plea that they were not aware of their existence.

Thirdly, a Christian, who recognises the general plan of the Divine operations, will be prepared to expect a very strong analogy and resemblance between both these concentric systems, the family and the State. He knows that all the parts of creation are harmonised and compacted together; and that the harmony and unity of a whole consists mainly in this, that every member of the framework is modelled on the same type, and moves on the same principle. He will see also in the identity of that human nature which is placed under discipline and instruction in each sphere, the necessity for considerable identity in both the schemes of education. And he will expect only such variations as are needed by the alteration of character which takes place in the boy and the man. A plant in leaf may require one temperature; and the same plant in flower and fruit another. But the general principle of management will probably be the same.

Fourthly, upon the same consideration, observing how individuals are collected and crystallised into families, and families into states, he will guard most carefully against any theory, which would represent the State to be formed not of families but of individuals. Such theories lie at the root of all those legislative acts, which interfere with or supersede the peculiar duties and privileges of the parent; plans of state-education, in which the Government claims the child as its own, without consulting the parent; a tampering with the laws of marriage; proceedings which unsettle the principles of legitimacy in blood, or disturb and embarrass the descent of family property; needless restrictions upon the prerogatives

and authority of parents; institutions which encourage illegitimacy, such as hospitals for foundlings; so immorality, the degradation of the female character and office, tastes and occupations which withdraw men from their firesides, and break up the domestic circle, and substitute more than is absolutely necessary of political interests for domestic duties; the modern establishment of clubs; the diffusion of newspapers; the facilities for travelling; the numerous associations in which females are encouraged to join for objects of charity and religion, in which the quiet unpretending duties of home are too often sacrificed to excitement; infant schools, in which the child is taken from the mother at the very time when it should be most closely attached to her; the employment of young children in mines and manufactories; the withdrawal of manufactures themselves from the cottages of the labourer to vast establishments; in Romanism the principle of forced celibacy, and of monasteries in general, so far as they sacrifice and violate domestic association; poverty, which strips home of its comforts; excessive labour, which allows no time for its enjoyment; the want of innocent recreations, which may give a charm to the poor man's fireside; or the establishment of vicious public amusements, which may create that charm elsewhere; ignorance, which precludes wholesome occupation for the mind within doors, when we cannot labour without; and vice, especially drunkenness and immorality, which destroy the very foundations of domestic happiness—all these, and many more might be added, are circumstances in the present day which bear upon this point, and demand most serious consideration. Stones are made of particles of sand, and houses are constructed of stones. But what will be that house, in building which the

mason pounds his stones to dust before he uses them? We cannot build houses with sand; and we cannot construct a State of individual men.

Fifthly, if this be true, and if it be one great office of the State to supply, for the perfectionment of man, what cannot be supplied by the family, in the State there must be some provision for those individuals, who, by the accidents of life, are thrown out of family-circles, and yet cannot attain their full growth, perhaps cannot even exist, without them,—orphans, children abandoned or neglected by their parents or relations, others who are corrupted by those who should watch over their innocence, minds too tender and delicate to battle with the world, or capable of great service in combination with others, but without the relations of marriage—all these loose and scattered atoms, as it were, of society, which are broken off from families in the collisions of the world, instead of lying like rubbish upon the ground, despised and trodden under foot, or turned to some mean and unworthy purpose, or tost about by every chance, without worthy object or abiding rest—all these should be carefully collected by the statesman, and gathered into artificial forms and combinations; as the very pebbles of the shore are consolidated into massive stone, and built up in bulwarks by imbedding them in concrete. A nation, alas, alas! like England, in which there is no provision for these unhappy beings, is destitute of one of its chief glories, and neglects one of its highest duties. The laws on which such factitious families should be framed, and the uses to which they may be applied, together with the abuses to which they are liable, may be traced out at another time: the need of them is all that is here suggested. And it will be a blessed day for this country, when, recovering from the panic and disgust into which the extravagances of a false

system of religion drove it, and carefully guarding against any renewal of them, she may still venture to provide, within the bosom of her own Church, some place of refuge for those of her children, who are now cast out into the world, like callow birds which have fallen from their nest, and must perish unless it can be regained.

Sixthly, it will appear that one of the chief objects and duties of the State is education ; education, as was before observed, comprehending the whole nature of man. The State is not merely the shell, in which the embryo is contained. It is not a mere locality, or circumscription of name, place, or power, within which so many families are counted by the head. It is the matrix, the womb in which they are imbedded, to be formed by it, and to derive from it their life and nourishment. It may be that two or more kinds of education are required, according to the different stages of maturity in the offspring. The egg is hatched by incubation only ; but the nestling once excluded from the shell demands a more extended care and a varied treatment. But both the operations are performed by the parent bird.

And yet we must beware. In the present day the statement seems a truism. And the State in this country professes, as one of its first interests, the encouragement and superintendence of education ; and yet, by sad practical experience of the result, we feel that some fallacy must lurk in its professions. It must educate, and is bound to educate ; and yet, when it makes the attempt, it is obliged to abandon it in despair, or it only develops rude, unorganised, and vicious forms of life ; like the reptiles engendered by the sun from the shores of the Nile.

And how is this ? Because it neglects the family. It neglects to employ the ministration of the family in the first stage of education ; as if a grandmother

should attempt to feed her grandchild instead of allowing it to be suckled by its own mother ; or as if a maker of porcelain should insist on at once submitting the wet clay to the last degree of heat through which it must ultimately pass, instead of arriving at it by degrees. It neglects to copy the type of the family in the institutions which it employs for that education of adults, which does more especially belong to its own province. Its schools, colleges, universities, gymnasia, whatever they are called, are not families and homes. They present only maimed and lifeless exhibitions of the domestic system. And they must be such, so long as the State itself abandons the domestic type in its own constitution and operations, and acts only by one half of its being, by the civil power only, without the close and affectionate co-operation of the spiritual. Just as if a man left with a family of infant children after the mother's divorce or death, should resolve to educate them himself, without any one to supply her place.

And one more suggestion may be drawn from this view of the relation between the family and the State. As many individuals form one family, and many families one State, so, upon this model, and according to the same law by which the whole system of nature seems generated, many states and nations may be formed into one grand Incorporation of the human race, having for its end the same object of developing human nature in all its forms and germinating principles ; and exhibiting it, perhaps, in its relation to that last and grandest sphere, in which all others are involved,—the coming Kingdom of Heaven. That passion for Unity, which cannot be bounded or checked by any barriers of space, or differences of nature and condition ; that vision of an universal Empire, comprehending the whole globe, which has elevated to something like

dignity even the meanness and selfishness of ambition; that sense of an universal nature and pervading sympathy, binding together in some one end all the scattered races of mankind, as they are bound together in the one spring-head from which they have flowed; that glimpse of wonderful connexions between the most distant phenomena of history, and of a secret mysterious thread of destiny running through and linking together the revolutions of the whole human race; all these seem auguries and instincts pointing to some such consummation. Natural instincts, universal expectations, are never without their reality and fulfilment, though the fulfilment be wrought out by degrees, slowly, and in part, and in a mystery which the human eye cannot see through; as a prisoner in a dungeon could not detect the order and regularity of a vast procession which passed slowly before the window of his dungeon. Such a view, difficult as it may be to trace out, would constitute the true Philosophy of Universal History. But it is too extensive to be attempted here, and must be left for some future occasion.

CHAPTER VIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Before I begin this chapter, I must once more remind you of our conversation on the cliffs at D—. As we passed, on our return, into one of the deep narrow dells with which the coast is there intersected, and wound along a narrow path which had been formed in its side, under the shade of some gigantic oaks, you stopped to pick up an acorn, and crushed it in your hands. And you asked, after some thought, whether it would be possible to detect, by any microscope, the primary atoms within it on which the principle of vitality depended,—that vitality, you added, by which this acorn might become an oak, and the oak a forest. This led us to reflect on the laws, by which, in the animal as in the vegetable world, and seemingly in every part of creation, the stream of life flows out from some one germ or embryo, widening in geometrical proportion till it becomes a sea; and retaining its unity throughout, by some mysterious infusion from the parent seed. You then passed on to remark the tendency in the material world to take an analogous form, and to fall into a pyramidal outline. Pile up the sand, you said, which is heaped on those low hills along the coast, and leave it only to the law of gravitation, and it will fall into a cone. Even the waves, as they break, curl up and mount into an apex. And if I were to sketch any part of this scene, I must commence it by grouping the members of it, and this grouping could only be effected by combining them in a pyramidal outline.

And when the intellect of man, I subjoined, throws itself upon the chaos of materials and facts which the world at first sight exhibits, its whole effort likewise is to classify genera, till they are ranged one above the other, and close in one, the highest of all; or to generalise laws, till one law can be traced as a root from which all the other combinations ramify; or to detect the one elemental form, of which the whole compound is a congeries and expansion. Perhaps, I added, this pyramidal law might be detected in the moral combinations of the world, as well as in the material. It may be a law of society. What would you say, if it was asserted that society cannot exist in any other form, and that there can be no government whatever, strive as we may to create one, except an absolute monarchy? I should say, you replied smiling, that this was one of your paradoxes.

This paradox it is now necessary to examine. We are to apply to political society the type of the family, and to ascertain if the same organisation is not established in both by nature for the preservation of their unity; for creating one body, though with many members. And the first element required is a supreme presiding power in the State, analogous to that of the father. For it is only by the pressure and action of such a power that a multitude of minds can be reduced to one. One will must be impressed upon all, or the body is in discord and distraction. To enable them to take such an impression, there must be a surrender of their own peculiar bias. They must be emptied of their self-will. They must resolve, whether from fear or love, or any other consideration, to move with the movements of another mind distinct from their own; and this self-abandonment must be, not a mere accidental agreement of opinion; not a willingness to

walk in the same path, so long as the same path seems agreeable—but a complete renunciation of their own inclinations and opinions, in all essential differences. No general would undertake the command of an army in which soldiers and officers promised to obey only so long as they chose. No captain would take a vessel to sea with a crew who would submit to his orders only where they seemed reasonable and pleasing. Absolute submission, unreserved, unconditional, mechanical, in all things necessary, is essential to unity of movement in a multitude of minds. Harsh as the statement must sound, it is undoubtedly true. It does not exclude thought, advice, consultation, and the exercise of all legitimate influence to change the determination of the presiding will; neither does it involve submission in any but essential acts; nor require it in unlawful acts. But the moment submission is withheld, the vital union is lost; the external union becomes precarious, and dependent upon accident and caprice; and the moment active opposition is offered, destruction commences. There is no mode by which many minds can be fused into one, except by the annihilation of the self-will of all in one. The hand, the foot, the eye, every member of the body, must be in obedience to one will. So in the growth of the oak, the whole mass of particles absorbed into, and assimilated with its substance, is subject all of it to the impulses impressed on all of it by the one germinating principle; so that the previous forms in which they were crystallised are converted into one original type, and the natural tendencies of all the juices are reduced into one current, prescribed by it, and the congeries becomes one tree: and so the whole compass of the universe is made one, by the subjection of all beings, in all their operations and movements, however complicated, to the one will of their Creator.

But to will is an indivisible act; and though its determination be affected by myriads of preceding affections, its decision is absolutely one, and the being in which its faculty exists is one also. And the one will must be one individual. Hard as it may seem, if the unity of the body politic is to be maintained in any action, in that action all the members being subjected to one will must also be subjected to one individual. I am speaking now, remember, of single separate acts. An army, on a field of battle, may make a hundred movements in different directions, if placed successively under the command of a hundred generals. But if they move as a whole, not by the mere impulse of accident, but as one organised body, in each movement, they will obey but one commander. No metaphysical ingenuity can escape from this conclusion; however human wilfulness has struggled, and will struggle against it to the end of time. For the pride of man cannot submit to become the servant of his fellow-man. They are apparently equal, and subjection is degradation. But it is no humiliation to be overpowered by superior forces; and therefore, if we are to be governed, we seek to be governed by a number. We endeavour to frame a system into which many wills and many voices shall enter, to form one supreme will and power; and this is the origin of all oligarchical and popular constitutions.

And now I will venture to suggest, that all such schemes are delusions. It is no delusion to wish and contrive that many minds and counterpoising forces should be associated in a government. This is necessary; and the proper method and form of association will appear hereafter. But it is a delusion to suppose that a number of independent wills can be brought together, and the result of their combined or conflicting forces be summed up in

any one act or determination, so as to preserve the unity of the body, without the one and the very same condition which the machinery is contrived to exclude,—the subjection of those many wills to some one individual. The attempt has been made again and again. Triumvirates, consulships, legislative councils, even double monarchies, have been framed for this purpose; but no sooner have the equal independent minds been placed together on a level, than they have begun to fall into the form of a cone; the weak have crumbled to the bottom, and the strong man has remained at the summit, a single individual. All experience is in favour of the paradox: even the American democracy confesses it, for it cannot exist without a President.

That which deceives us in resisting it, is the principle of deciding by majorities; and it well deserves examination. I wish, therefore, to suggest,—or rather, without presumption, it may be asserted,—that the principle of majorities is admirable and necessary in consultation; that it is the only mode of gathering the collected experience and prudence of many minds, previous to the determination of the will; but that, in the willing and acting itself, it is either wholly incompatible with the unity of the body, or, if unity be preserved, it is gained only by the same surrender of the many wills to one individual, which is the essence of an absolute monarchy.

The Parliament of a nation is assembled. It is proposed to alter the law of representation. There are six hundred members. The voting commences; and three hundred have voted on each side. At this point let the state of the votes be made known, and then consider the position of the individual to whom belongs the casting vote. Upon him, upon his absolute and irresponsible will, de-

terminated within his own breast, as much resides the power of deciding the whole question, as if no previous votes had been given—as if no others were associated with him in the assembly—as if he were a monarch and a despot. That he has had advisers and counsellors brought forward in the process of voting, is true. So may a despot. That he is now able to weigh and compare the forces which may be called into action by his decision, is also true. So may a despot. He has only to inform himself accurately of the state of his kingdom. But in the privacy of his own mind he may discard, or be unable to combine, any such calculations. He may decide by passion, by prejudice, in ignorance, in selfishness, in folly, in madness. There is no one to control him. His account must be rendered, like the despot's, to Heaven alone. "*Deum ultorem expectet.*" At his feet stand both the parties in trembling and anxiety, to await his voice. Each know that their own votes are nugatory as air, if he so wills it. Each is ready to court and purchase his decision, as they would bribe a despot. And it is the triumph of his power to hold them suspended on his caprice, and wavering with every alternation of his fancy. For the time, then, for this single act, the fate of the whole nation is dependent on the will of a single individual.

But change the condition of the majority, and still it is the same. The moment three hundred votes have been given on one side, let the state of the voting be made known, and the voter who follows next possesses the same absolute power of rendering nugatory all those which follow him, and giving all the validity of which they are susceptible to those which preceded. He may throw his weight into the scale at once, and the question is decided—decided by his single vote, absolute, arbitrary, irre-

sponsible ; which may be determined honestly and wisely with reference to the opinions and power of others, or as a fool and a rogue ; but which, in either case alike, is binding on the destinies of the whole body ; or he may wave his privilege, and prefer taking his stand with the minority, whose supremacy is still undecided, leaving it to the next voter, and he to the next, and he to the next in succession, to exercise the same privilege of determining the question at once, or passing it on to another. But whether he decide, or refuse to decide, in each case the act of his will is absolute and arbitrary. If he turn the scale at once, the fate of the body is decided by that single individual. If he wave it, the end is only postponed till the voting reach an individual who does not wave it, or till both parties are equalised, and the casting vote, as before, is left to an individual. In whatever way we analyse the process of determining by majorities, the decision will still be traced to some single vote, by which the majority is constituted, on which its essence and validity entirely depends, not indeed as single in itself, but as coming in a certain order after a certain number. But it is still a single vote. The whole validity and efficacy of all the others is as much derived from it as the voices of the advisers of a tyrant are potent by his voice. We may endeavour to disguise the fact by keeping secret the order and progress of voting, so that no individual may know that he is the person who is called on to decide the majority. But to be unconscious of the power which we exercise is not to lose it. Poison kills though administered in ignorance ; and nations receive the death-blow from an ignorant legislator, though no one knows where to fix the crime.

But, indeed, this very concealment renders the danger greater, and the criminality more extended.

It is affected, either lest the individual, conscious of his power, should use it to his own selfish purposes, as votes in popular elections are held back to the last, to extort for them a higher bribe; or that the chance of the power may be distributed among all, as in a blind lottery. But the effect is to destroy the sense of individual responsibility in all, while over all the responsibility is extended. Each man votes as he might do in a minority, whose success is uncertain, while all alike severally may be in the position of a casting vote. And it is this consideration which renders the contemplation of a representative government so full of awe.

But, it will be said, the single voice, which determines the majority in an assembly, is powerless, except it be preceded by the voices of at least half the constituency; and that, in this respect, it differs from the single voice of the despot. But the difference is merely superficial. The single voice of the despot is alike powerless, unless it can depend on the support of a number of wills, constituting, in like manner, a force more than equal to any which can be brought against it. This force may be composed of janissaries, or Swiss, or Scottish archers, or condottieri, or a mob, or a faction—it may be made up in its amount, not so much by numerical superiority, as by discipline, courage, military skill, superiority of arms, or position. But the single will is powerless without it. Both cases are precisely alike in this point. They differ only according as the auxiliary force is composed of the good and the wise, under the sanction of law, whose concurrence guarantees the goodness of the supreme will; or of slaves, and mercenaries, and ruffians, who are determined in their service only by interest or passion.

And this brings us to the great problem in forming constitutions. As in every constitution there

must be one determining will for at least each several act of the state; and as that will must be absolute and arbitrary in the privacy of its own deliberations and decisions, it is vain to struggle against the principle of monarchy in the abstract. And as no individual in himself can possess power over a greater number, unless he be supported by a superior force in others, it is equally vain to complain of monarchy, as if it could be exercised by any insulated arm. An individual alone cannot govern a nation. It is impossible: it was never attempted. But it is not vain to consider in what way the body, without which the one determining voice is powerless, may be so constructed as to render it an adequate and efficient representative, not of the mere will of the subjects, but of goodness and truth, wisdom and justice, religion and piety, in themselves. In the composition of this body lies the chief excellence of a constitution, and the chief mystery of good government; and it practically supersedes even the preliminary question of the depository of the determining will. If that will cannot act without the concurrence of another power, regulate that power rightly, and the movements of the determining will cannot go wrong. But it may be far more easy to regulate aright the will of the state than the will of the monarch; far more easy to construct an unerring standard of truth out of many minds, than out of one. The impulse must be given by one, but the balance-weight must be composed of many.

We thus arrive at two great political questions. First, by what law is the monarch to be selected? and, secondly, in what manner is the State to be constituted? And I will venture henceforth to use these words in rather a peculiar sense; signifying, by the Monarch, the one will on which the decision

of each act must depend, whether in a pure despotism, or a representative system, or a democracy; and by the State, that majority of forces, however combined, by whose assistance his will takes effect over the whole body.

And, before these questions are examined, it may be worth while to observe how, by the natural action of society, the biune principle again meets us. For the right government of a nation there must be associated together, as in one body, both the State and the Monarch. The very essence of their combination depends on their possessing two separate individual wills; otherwise the Monarchy would be nullified, or the State would possess no power of check or counterpoise. But the happiness and good government of the nation is to be measured by their perfect harmony and unity. The power of the two parts of the machine is distributed in the same paradoxical form as that of the two presiding forces in the domestic society. There is a primary, active, originating, determining will reposed in a single individual. There is a negative power, one capable of resisting, but not of originating, motion; and of resisting passively, by refusing to co-operate, not actively, by commencing a collision—a power of advice, of suggestion, of moral influence, of mind rather than of body. The active power cannot move without the consent of the passive, nor the passive without the active. The State has no power without the Monarch, nor the Monarch any power without the State. And yet the State derives all its power from the Monarch, as the wife derives her power from the husband. The Monarch cannot act at all, unless the State approves his movement. The State cannot act at all, unless the Monarch gives the impulse. Hence, amidst the frailties and corruptions of human nature, there arise fre-

quent embarrassments, constant difficulties, suspended action, occasional inconsistencies, triumphs of more or less duration of one body over the other. And yet, from these conflicting and disturbing forces, flows out one tolerably uniform and harmonious line of action, when contemplated in its full extent,—just as the heavenly bodies are maintained in their courses, not by undeviating orbits, but by counteracting and counterbalancing aberrations. And there is an analogy to this political system in the material and moral world, which is not to be overlooked. There is a vulgar adage (and vulgar adages are expressions of general truths), that it is the last feather which breaks the horse's back—the last drop makes the cup run over—the failure of the last atom in the decayed timber brings down the house—the last impulse, though but the movement of a finger, overthrows the carriage—the last breath hurls down the avalanche—the giving way of the last fibre, or the corruption of the last drop of blood, brings with it death. All these single movements determine the event; without them it would not take place. But these movements themselves are powerless, except they are preceded and accompanied by a multitude of others of a similar kind, which themselves are powerless without the crowning act. Decay is working for years in the human frame, but life does not depart. Drop by drop a mass of water penetrates the dyke, but the dyke does not give way till the last particle has been saturated and loosened. And so in the moral world. Act after act, suffering upon suffering, still the habit is not formed—it may be yet altered. One act more, and all is over; and the character and colour of the soul, whether for good or for evil, is burnt into it for ever. So ideas recur again and again; at last they mature into thought; from thought they are warmed

into feelings and affections ; and affections ripen into inclinations and propensities. And yet all this previous process, pregnant as it is with consequences, and essential to the final result, are in themselves as nothing ; till one more step is taken, and the deliberation passes into will, and the will into act, and man is plunged into crime. And even then he lives on from day to day, adding sin to sin, or, it may be, virtue to virtue. And still the seal is not set upon his fate, to fix him either in heaven or in hell, until some one conclusive movement, seen perhaps only by that eye which penetrates the secrets of the heart, and watches the ripening of our souls ; and then the word is given, and where the tree falls, there it lies for ever.

And so it is in the intellectual world. It is the last item in the calculation of probabilities which determines the decision of prudence ; and yet that item weighs as nothing without a previous accumulation of others. It is the last touch which gives perfection to the work of art. And how often is it felt that years of labour and expense have been wasted, because this one touch is wanting ! One black spot upon a picture, one flaw in a gem, one scratch upon a mirror, one deficiency in a machine, one curiosity missing in a collection, one discordant string in a harmony of music, one unnatural tone, or gesture, or expression in the representation of passion—and pictures, gems, mirrors, mechanism, museum, harmonies, dramas, or oratory, all become valueless. Without the accompanying mass the ultimate atom is as nothing ; but without the ultimate atom the mass itself is nothing. Such is the constitution of the world—a combination of many particles, of which one particle must rule and give the bias ; but the bias cannot take effect unless a majority of the others consent to move in the same line ; and

in which the majority themselves cannot move at all, till the ruling and biassing particle has communicated to them the determining impulse.

And if we ascended still higher, even to the will of the supreme Creator, and the will of His creature, man, it may be that the same mystery would meet us. It may be that the great problem of practical, as well as of speculative, religion—the problem of free agency and of fate—may be but another form of the same great law. Man can do nothing without God. And yet God Himself declares that He will do nothing without man. Man may be upon this earth even now as the State, and God as the Monarch. God by His own word has submitted, if so we may dare to speak, the operations of His own will to the prayers of man in the name of that Divine Person who is Himself both God and man. And our prayers—the prayers of the Church—may be like the voice of parliaments of old, which also took the form of prayers—prayers to the one Supreme Will, that grievances might be redressed and mischiefs amended. And without such prayers it may be part of the system of God's political government of the universe that His providential interpositions should scarcely take effect, and that the world should be abandoned to the ravages of those evil influences, which, for some wise purpose, He has permitted to break down its fences, and to destroy its vineyards. And such a view would give a wonderful consistency and harmony to the character and offices of the Church. But it may seem presumptuous to dwell upon it, where so much is left behind a veil to human eyes. And still more presumptuous would it be to follow the same analogy still farther into the sanctuary of the Divine nature; where, perhaps, the sight of angels may discern it in the wonderful and mysterious relations of the Father,

who has given all power to the Son, and the Son who came to do the will of His Father; and who, without the Father, doeth nothing, as the Father doeth nothing without the Son, and in answer to the prayers of the Son.

But to pursue this farther might lead us to irreverence; and it is better to refrain.

CHAPTER IX.

IF, then, in every form of human society, each act of the society, however preceded by common deliberation, or externally determined by a majority of voices, must practically be decided by a single voice and individual will, it is of paramount importance to ascertain the laws by which this individual should be selected.

In this selection politicians have generally kept in view only the evils which must obviously flow from committing the whole fortune of the State to a single will; and that will liable to distraction from passion; to blindness and error from ignorance; to versatility from caprice; to selfishness, prejudice, and viciousness of all kinds; tempted to extravagances and follies by the very supremacy of its power; and even when subjected to truth and goodness in the best of human characters, perishable and mortal, so that no calculation can be made of its permanency beyond the limits of a short human life.

How will it be possible to preserve the unity of the State, while its movements are directed by a power so vacillating and precarious? And the answers given to the problem have been various. At one time this sovereignty is to be entrusted to an individual for his life, as in monarchical governments; at another for a term of years, as in the Presidency of the United States; at another for an indeterminate period, according to the exigencies of a particular crisis, as the Dictatorship at Rome.

Or it may be shifted from hand to hand every year, or month, or week, or even day, as in many democratical constitutions. Or it may be placed alternately in the same hands. Or it may be made to depend upon the popular voice, as in unsettled and licentious periods, when the favourite of a mob, or of a despot, practically rules during the good pleasure of his master. Or, as before suggested, instead of fixing the individual who is to exercise it, it may be thrown into a popular assembly, and left to be tossed about at hazard in the blind conflicts of a fluctuating majority. Or the power itself may be so split and distributed, that while one will is supreme in one province, others may be sovereign in the rest; and an attempt may be made to form an united government out of three or more absolute and contending wills, as in the modern theory of the British constitution, which is described as a balance of powers. And it is not perceived, that the only possible result of such a balance, when perfectly maintained, must be absolute inaction; and that, in every other condition of its existence, it must be involved in conflicts and collisions, in which no one step of advance can be gained, except by the triumph of one force over the others.

Of these various schemes, those which are endeavours to escape from the rule of a single will are futile; and when they are contrived in a spirit of insubordination and impatience of restraint, they virtually only transfer power from one individual to another. And those which are framed simply to impose checks, and throw embarrassments in the way of the ruling will, act as mere obstructions to the movements of society; and are rather like stones and beams, which mischief might throw down upon a railway, than those well-adjusted balance-wheels which regulate a machinery, without introducing

any opposing principle of motion. Those only are worthy of imitation which tend to create a State in harmony with, and in subordination to, the Monarch. And a Christian will readily allow this.

It will be his first grand principle, that all power whatever is derived from one supreme fountain-head—from God Himself; and that it is bound to act under His commission, and in subjection to His laws. He knows also that the “hearts of kings are in His rule and governance,” and that He alone “can dispose and turn the wills of any rulers, as it seems best to His godly wisdom.” He will therefore be comparatively indifferent to the hands in which power may be placed, provided that he can trace, in the disposition of events, the hand of God; and not mere human will opposing or despising it. If, in political arrangement, as in any other moral act, we simply obey the will of God, He will turn all to good. If we neglect or disobey His will, and then seek to obviate evil by human contrivances, all our contrivances will be turned to nothing. We have but to seek for some true manifestation of the will of God in the appointment of our rulers; or if no clear and distinct declaration be made, as in the Jewish polity, for the nearest and best signs of it which we can reach; and then we may safely and contentedly resign the rest to Providence.

Now, the first acknowledged title to power is given by wisdom and goodness. Upon these, by the very constitution of our nature and the arrangement of the world, the Creator has set the seal at least of ultimate sovereignty. And no one disputes their claim. Even when vice asserts its right to command, it is compelled to mask itself under some disguise of virtue. Upon this fundamental law of our moral nature the whole system of society must rest. No government, whether popular or despotic,

can maintain its right ultimately upon any other plea.

But the acknowledgment of the rightful authority of goodness, and the power of discerning it, are very different things. Every individual will admit the one; few may possess the other. We judge of wisdom by the false standard of our own ignorance, and of goodness by the corrupt inclinations of our own hearts. The mind casts its own shadow and colour on every object which it contemplates. "All the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes."¹ And even the dealings of the Most High will be judged by man, as if "God were even such an one as himself." "With the holy He shall be holy; and with a perfect man He shall be perfect. With the clean He shall be clean; and with the froward He shall learn frowardness."² And a Christian will be as distrustful of his power to distinguish goodness in others, as he will be of possessing it himself.

It is not said, that he can be exempted from the duty of pronouncing such a judgment. On the contrary, he can no more escape from this in the privacy of his own mind, than he can taste food without pronouncing on its savour, or see objects without distinguishing colour, or being conscious that they please or displease. It is in fact one of the chief, perhaps the very chiefest, trial imposed upon man by his Maker; and by his conduct in which trial his character is made known, and his own fortunes sealed. And as it is essential to good government that there should be a certain equipoise of powers between the Monarch and the State, in the composition of the State—as, for instance, in the selection of Parliaments—the popular voice must

¹ Prov. xvi. 2.

² Psalm xviii. 25.

often be consulted, if only as a witness to the competency and character of subordinate rulers. But the self-distrust of a Christian will make him thankful to be spared the necessity of sitting in judgment on his rulers. Instead of seeking and arrogantly claiming a right of suffrage, he will endeavour to decline it. He will desire to guard against a wrong selection, by comparing and combining the suffrages of others. And knowing the fallibility of man, even when every precaution has been taken, he will far prefer taking a part in the nomination of the State, than in the election of a Monarch. A wrong judgment in choosing the one supreme will, which is to be the fountain of power, can scarcely be remedied. But the wrong choice of a counsellor, or a judge, or a member of Parliament, may be counterbalanced by a right choice of other constituents of the same body. And hence the popular will, which cannot safely be called on to decide the succession in an elective monarchy, may be safely trusted with elective powers to certain subordinate offices in a monarchy which is hereditary. Nor must another reason be omitted, why a Christian would shrink from possessing a voice in the election of a sovereign. No one can confer more power than he possesses himself. No people, therefore, can elect a king without assuming to themselves, at the very least, during the interregnum, the kingly power. And if the theory before given of a majority be correct, that kingly power, strictly speaking, is, or may be, by chance, exercised by any individual who votes in it. He who constitutes the majority practically does exercise the highest of all regal functions,—the nomination of the king. The fearful responsibility of such an act is in itself sufficient to deter a Christian from voluntarily undertaking it. But he will advance still farther. Before he assumes

such a power, a power so peculiarly belonging to Almighty God, of nominating his own servants and ministers, he will ask for the commission under which the right of nomination is conferred upon himself; and he will find none. The act is an usurpation; and an usurpation so heinous and treasonable, that he will expect it to be visited, as it always has been visited, by the heaviest punishment of Heaven, upon the nation which dares to perpetrate it.

But another principle will flow from the self-distrust of a Christian, in his own power of discerning good and evil. Acknowledging that all power must depend upon wisdom and goodness; and that these, in our moral conceptions, constitute (if we may dare so to speak) the supreme claim and righteous title of the Almighty Himself to the willing obedience of His creatures; he will recognise the legitimacy of every power which bears on it the Divine commission, however different it may seem from his own peculiar opinions. In faith he submits with patience to the ravages of the storm, to plague, and pestilence, and famine, to suffering, and death. They are powers ordained of God, or permitted by His will. We may pray against them; guard against them; seek for remedies and cures according to the laws of God, and without transgressing the powers which He has given to ourselves. And the skill which contrives against such evils, and the patience which cheerfully submits to them when inevitable, may perhaps be contemplated by the Creator as ends in this His creation. And in the same faith the Christian will submit to those seeming anomalies in the moral government of God, which flow from His delegation of power to the hands of the wicked and the foolish in the present constitution of the world. There is a mystery in it beyond our comprehension; but that it occurs in a creation of the Most High is

sufficient to prove its wisdom: "The Lord hath made all things for Himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil."¹ And there may be cases in which it may be better, even for the people of God, to "go forth at His command unto the king of Babylon's princes,"² than to remain in the city. A Christian will never tolerate the maxim, that none but good men ought to bear rule upon earth. He knows that, even were it true as a fact, in the judgment of men it would seem otherwise. The very perfection of government must appear imperfect to imperfect subjects. But he knows also that it is not true as a fact—that in whatever degree the tendencies to a perfect moral government may be traced in this world, we have no promise that they will be fully developed till another has sprung from it. Earthly power is not distributed on earth according to strict measures of goodness and wisdom. Goodness and wisdom are here in conflict with evil and folly; and the battle shifts and wavers. Now one side gains, and now another. Defeat follows upon triumph, and triumph upon defeat. All is doubtful, and precarious, and obscure, except the faith, which through mists and storms discerns the brightness of the day which will be hereafter. And from this conflict are evolved the virtues of human nature—the courage to contend, the patience to endure, the hope which comforts, the faith which binds us to our Maker, the thought which reasons, the love which links us closer to each other by every adversity and suffering; even the happiness which is to come, which, it may be, as finite beings we could scarcely enjoy, without passing through a previous stage of misery and fear. And under it the habit is matured, with-

¹ Prov. xvi. 4.² Jer. xxxviii. 17.

out which, as far as we can see, finite imperfect beings could not dwell patiently and contentedly even in heaven—even under the eye of the Almighty—the habit of resignation to His will, and of obedience to His commands, even when we are unable to discern their end and fitness. We learn this by submitting patiently upon earth to powers which are evil in our eyes, and which yet we know are ordained by God. And the discipline through which upon earth our spirits are to be matured for heaven would be imperfect, if power upon earth did not often wear the aspect of evil, and if we refused to acquiesce in it with patience at the bidding of God.

But from this follows another principle.

If moral goodness is not the only Divine title to earthly power and rule, and since, even if it were so, man would be unable to distinguish it by any unerring judgment, there must be some other badge or mark by which the Divine commission may be recognised—a badge, external, formal, palpable—in discerning which there would be little intrusion either of a fallacious reason, or of a corrupt will, open to the most common sight, and equally intelligible to all mankind. There must be an outward visible sign of the Divine will; and for this the Christian will search, if possibly it may be found. And five such marks have been generally acknowledged by those who have not altogether denied our need of them. First, the right of parentage; secondly, the right of primogeniture; thirdly, existing usage; fourthly, the actual possession of power considered as a Providential arrangement; and, fifthly, a nomination by the Spiritual authority in the State.

The first of these, on which is founded the patriarchal theory of society, is not sufficient to bear such a superstructure. The right of parentage can-

not extend beyond the family; and it must cease with the death of the parent. And though Adam might be the natural head and monarch of the whole human race during his lifetime, the question would still arise, on whom this power would devolve after his death? It must be a power superior to that of the parent, for it must extend over parents themselves, since the nation is composed of families, and not of individuals. And it cannot be derived from parentage; because it must spread beyond the family, over the children of collateral branches. The question is one of precedency not between parent and son, but between brother and brother. And the regal functions are also as distinct from the parental, as political society is from domestic. And though an inference might be drawn from one to the other; as we might conjecture the will of a sovereign to place an officer in a high post of honour or trust, because we found him placed already in a lower office; even this would scarcely hold good, since the parental character is no necessary evidence of fitness for political rule, or of Divine approbation.

We must therefore seek for some other intimation of the Divine will in the selection of the individual who is to rule over many families, and to form the head of the nation. And, first, it is to be observed, that if any order of precedency has been fixed by the Divine hand, although it may not coincide with the order of merit, it may yet be a sufficient guide for our own arrangement. For, however we may wish and struggle to harmonise and adjust the two lines, we know that such an adjustment is not the plan of Providence in this world; that man at least is wholly unable to effect it, because he is incapable of measuring correctly degrees of goodness; and that whatever adjustment could be effected must be temporary and precarious, because not only

our own standard of goodness, but the degrees of goodness itself in man are perpetually shifting. Endeavour to arrange the members of a political society according to their worth, and how shall the scale be fixed? What number of voices will be brought to agree in the proportions? Even of those who agree to-day, how many will retain the same opinion to-morrow? And even in those who are consistent and firm, how will it be possible to maintain the same estimate of characters, which characters are deteriorating or improving every moment by no fixed law, and beyond our powers of discernment? Let us remember also how false are the principles on which we endeavour to adjust the order of rule with the order of merit. We think that earthly power is a good, and should be proportioned to goodness in man. But God thinks otherwise. He neither thinks it a good, nor places it in the hands of those who are His best and most faithful servants. "To be despised and rejected of men" is far more often the badge of His service than to be clothed in purple, and to sit upon thrones. Or we think it necessary for our own happiness and virtue that we should be placed here upon earth under a rule of uniform goodness; and God thinks otherwise. He has permitted an enemy to enter into His field, and to sow tares among the wheat; and has delivered over the glory of the world, seemingly, to the prince of darkness, "that he may give it to whomsoever he will."¹ And even if it were possible for us to select the best and wisest of men, to place him at the head of a nation, not only would it be necessary to make provision against his incidental frailties and faults, but for the good of the nation itself, to enable it more completely to realise within itself the Divine Image, a State must be created

¹ Luke iv. 6.

likewise; that is, a body of subordinate wills so regulated as to regulate the movements of the one supreme will; and where this exists, it is comparatively of little moment who may be the king.

With these considerations, a Christian will be disposed to recognise in the principle of primogeniture an order of precedency traced out by the hand of God, and to acquiesce in it as such, notwithstanding the obvious difficulties with which it is embarrassed. He cannot admit the principle of election without introducing into the body politic jealousies, discords, prejudices, conflicts, and vacillations, which must destroy all its unity; while, as was observed before, the very principle of popular election is in itself an act of usurpation upon the Divine authority. He may adopt a fixed order distinct from primogeniture, by which, as in the laws of Tanistry, the most advanced in years of all the family succeed to the throne, so as to preserve it in experienced and mature hands. But even this cannot always be successful. And it presents the obvious objection, that the successor to the throne may as often be in the dotage of old age as in the imbecility of childhood; and that the jealousies and rivalries, which too often are engendered between the possessor of the throne and the heir, are far more likely to break out between two different branches of the same family than between a father and a son. The principle of division, which was so often adopted in the decline of the Roman empire, and by the successors of Charlemagne, cannot of course be admitted without immediate destruction to the unity of the nation. And primogeniture alone remains. It carries with it the natural affection of the parent to his first-born, the natural respect of brothers for one superior in age, and therefore, for the most part, in acquirements and experience; the

prejudice of custom, since primogeniture is the natural law of precedency in families; and, lastly, the associations which spring up in all minds, connecting the parent with the child, and transferring to it the power, and merits, and even the virtues, of the parent. And history confirms the wisdom of the principle; since few great empires have been established without its adoption; and its abandonment has been generally the signal for a succession of revolutions and convulsions.

But adherence to the law of primogeniture cannot be expected, except where a State has already been formed to supply the defects to which it is necessarily exposed. Institutions must have been settled, powers consolidated, habits and prejudices matured; and, if I may anticipate an observation which will occur hereafter, an ecclesiastical authority must have been fixed and maintained in a nation, before it will or can acquiesce in the rule of a child, or of a female, or of one incapacitated by his character from defending or controlling it—and acquiesce in it upon a principle which, as policy, can only be appreciated by deep thought, and, as piety, presupposes a mature faith. It is not said that adherence to this law, under any circumstances, would not be the safest and the best conduct. Probably it would tend more than any thing to develop rapidly and efficiently the formation of the State, by rendering it imperative on the nation to surround the throne at once with counsels and with protection independent of the individual will of the monarch; and thus to generate that permanent body of wisdom and power which is to neutralise the bad impulses of the individual, while it gives support and strength to the good. But human short-sightedness, and impatience, and still more human ambition, will not tolerate such delays and self-denial as are required

for the exercise of supreme power under the name of another, without usurping its reality to ourselves. And the exigencies which arise in unsettled and undeveloped constitutions, during a minority, demand a vigour and decision of character to meet them, which can scarcely exist without tendencies to cupidity and aggression. Whatever be the true and morally right theory, the practice of political societies, in the early stages of their formation, and in all periods of great convulsion, will always tend to place power in the hands, not of the first-born, but of the strongest. Might will make right; and the seeming necessity will cover the injustice or impolicy.

CHAPTER X.

WHAT, then, is a Christian to do, when the order apparently marked out by Providence has been broken by human covetousness and faithlessness, and when a power which he cannot but regard as usurpation has intruded on the rights of primogeniture? The question is practically involved in the conduct of every Christian during periods of usurpations in a kingdom. And Revelation has mercifully and wisely solved it, so far as moral questions can be determined by general principles. Nothing perhaps is more remarkable in nature than her provisions against contingent evils, which nevertheless she does not seem to contemplate in the original construction of her machinery. It is no part of her intention that the bones of the human body should be fractured; and yet when the fracture happens, it is found that she has provided the cement by which they are united again, and which is not produced until the need for it occurs. She has not framed the skin to be wounded, or the senses to be blunted. But when laceration is caused, there is an apparatus ready to heal it; and when one sense is impaired, another becomes quickened, so as to remedy the evil. And so in the moral world. It is not the will of God that man should sin; and he is surrounded with every warning to deter him from it. But he does sin; and a provision of mercy is immediately called into action, by which he may still be saved. In one word, the whole system of the world seems to be constructed, as the greatest of Christian philosophers

has observed,¹ upon a principle rather of mercy than of benevolence; in theory, as if it were perfection; in practice, as if full of imperfection. Man is embarked not in a vessel of pleasure, in which he may sail at his ease; but in a life-boat, which is to save him from a wreck.

And an instance of this kind may be traced in the great rules of political obedience laid down by the Scriptures. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God. *The powers that be* are ordained of God."² "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake."³ "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully."⁴ "Follow peace with all men."⁵ "I exhort that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks; be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority."⁶ "Remove not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set."⁷ "Meddle not with them that are given to change."⁸ And to these may be added all the exhortations to walk in the old paths, and stand in the old ways; not to judge by the sight of our own eyes; not to provoke the wrath of the king; and to follow in all things the example of our Lord, who even in the heathen Cæsar, the conqueror and usurper over Judea, recognised the sovereign power, and commanded to pay tribute to him.

"The powers that be are ordained of God." Under whatever constitution we may be placed, whatever be the distribution of the sovereign au-

¹ Butler's Analogy.

² Rom. xiii. 1.

³ 1 Peter ii. 13.

⁴ 1 Peter ii. 18.

⁵ Heb. xii. 14.

⁶ 1 Tim. ii. 1.

⁷ Prov. xxii. 28.

⁸ Prov. xxiv. 21.

thority,—whether as a monarchy, or an oligarchy, or a republic,—maintain existing institutions, suppress all tendencies to innovation, preserve peace, exclude every thing like cupidity and ambition, inculcate content, recognise the hand and authority of God in all existing authorities, and obey them as in the Lord. And no other rule will be required to bring out, even from the most unfavourable circumstances, a tolerable, and, at last, even the best of governments. It is not necessary to revert violently to that system, which seems to have been originally intended by Providence, and to be in itself the best. There is no neglect of duty in submitting to that under which we are by God placed. And though we may be reluctant to take an active part in a government founded on false principles, and therefore essentially evil, we are not called on to work any change in it, except that which may follow naturally from a ready submission to its authority. In what mode such a change will be effected by such a submission, may be shewn hereafter.

Thus, upon this same great principle,—that “there is no power but of God; that the powers that be are ordained of God,”—is established the fourth criterion by which a Christian distinguishes his legitimate ruler, independently of his own personal feelings and opinions. In all popular proverbs there is a certain mixture of truth; and even the obnoxious declaration, so often made the foundation of the most atrocious political systems, that “might makes right,” is not without its partial application to Christian conduct. Might cannot make right, in a moral sense. It cannot obliterate injustice; cannot clear a successful criminal from his responsibility; cannot make tyranny a virtue, or success the measure of goodness. But it can render patience and acquiescence as morally right as it may be phy-

sically necessary. When a power is established over a nation in such a manner that the assertion of previously existing rights is wholly impracticable; when complaints and remonstrances have failed; and no legitimate power exists, or is able to act, by which the yoke can be shaken off,—a Christian will recognise, in such a dispensation, either the just judgment of God upon the sins of a people, or some trial of patience and resignation, out of which is to be wrought a higher degree of goodness and glory. That which is the law of Christian gentleness in private life will be his law in public: “I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.”¹ It is idle, and worse than idle, to attempt to restrict and explain away this positive command. And the Christian Church has always upheld it in its full extent. *With one uniform unhesitating voice it has proclaimed the duty of “passive obedience.”* When the tyranny is exercised by an acknowledged legitimate sovereign, the course of the Christian is to put in force all acknowledged legitimate existing powers, by which he may be saved from it, and its oppressions be checked. He may petition, appeal to authorised tribunals, claim all established protections of the constitution. He may, and must, refuse to take any active part in doing ill, or to sanction it even by his silence. He is bound to protest and remonstrate; otherwise he becomes involved in the guilt of suppressing truth, and encouraging wrong. But he will neither lift nor evoke an arm against the supreme power of the nation. Create a second power

¹ Matt. v. 39.

—a rival and conflicting spring of action—and the unity of the nation is destroyed. It is as if the arm or the foot in the human body were suddenly endowed with thought and volition, and were to act independently of the sovereign reason, and in opposition to it. What would become of the body? And raise up a rival will and conflicting power in political society, and what becomes of the nation? Whatever temporary relief may be gained, must be followed by infinitely worse revulsions, when the principle of conflict is once introduced; when subjects are permitted to redress their own grievances, and consequently are familiarised to a licentiousness of complaint and impatience, under which no government can remain stable; when the ruling power is exasperated and hardened by opposition, often frivolous and always menaced; when the collision between the rebel and the sovereign lets loose upon society all the horrors and passions of civil discord; when mutual suspicion and distrust is infused into every relation of life; when foreign interference is invited to assist the contest, and take advantage of its issue; when all fixed rule and order is cast aside in the appointment of governors, and their designation is now openly left to the decision of the sword; when brute violence is thus made the law of the nation, and before it are swept away ancient institutions, honoured classes, holy rites, all that is permanent, and peaceful, and sacred; and the state becomes a wreck, and the land is defiled with blood. Such is the career of every nation which ventures to trample under foot, as slavish and destructive, the doctrine of passive obedience. And the escape from this fate alone would be a sufficient attestation of its wisdom, if any attestation were required by a Christian to a positive command from God. But it bears on its

face the promise also made to the meek, that "they shall inherit the earth;"¹ that promise of power and dominion to the gentler virtues of our nature, which is fulfilled in the command which infancy and weakness, when viewed with pity and without contempt, exercise over age and strength. Submission disarms resentment, and patience neutralises persecution. There can be no action where there is no resistance; no shamelessness where there is no plea and excuse for cruelty; no triumph or enjoyment in success where there is no opposition to overcome. And the arm of the tyrant will fall wearied, and listless, and ineffective, where there is no conflict to provoke the blow. Such are some of the provisions of nature for the repression of violence, and the protection of the weak. She would oppose a yielding surface to the waves, that they may flow over and spend themselves on air. And when man has thus done his part in stilling the raging of the sea and the madness of the ruler, then the ear of the Lord is open to his prayer, and His hand is stretched out to save—that hand which "holds the heart of the king; and, as the rivers of water, turneth it whithersoever He will."²

There is, indeed, a position full of difficulty and pain in which a Christian is placed, whenever a conflict occurs between an established and an usurping power, and the result is not yet decided so as to ascertain to which side Providence has given the victory. In this, as in many other questions of morals, it is impossible to lay down any but general rules. The very difficulty of applying them constitutes the trial of the human heart, and no theoretical casuistry is able or ought to release us from it. But the general principles of a Christian's conduct in this case are not obscure. He is bound to strug-

¹ Matt. v. 5.

² Prov. xxi. 1.

gle to the utmost to maintain and guard the rights of his existing ruler, even to death. His life as a citizen cannot be sacrificed more nobly than in defending his king against a rebel or a foe. He is bound to continue this struggle until it becomes hopeless; and, in concluding it to be such, he must admit no self-interest, no cowardice, or indolence, or despondency, to warp his judgment. When by such proof as is required in all cases where we are liable to be biassed by our own feelings, he is justified in considering that Providence has set its seal upon the fortunes of the antagonist power, he is bound to dissuade the weaker from prosecuting a course which can only lead to bloodshed, and war, and misery, without offering any probable hope of ultimate success. His allegiance, if sworn, he cannot withdraw, unless the obligation be removed by the death of his sovereign, or by his sovereign's voluntary surrender of it. He must retain and acknowledge it, in case some favourable contingency should occur, which would justify or require a renewal of the contest. And if the usurper insist on his transferring it to himself, he must refuse at any cost, and at whatever risk. But he may still continue in his country; and his duty will be to submit in patience and resignation to the rule of the usurper, until either it be overthrown by the hand of God, or becomes so firmly fixed and rooted that the previous title is extinguished, and a new dynasty is legalised.

In this manner Nature, and with Nature Revelation, endeavours to reset as it were those fractures in the structure of political society, which are so frequently occurring by the collisions of human passion and ambition. It is one perpetual effort to restore unity to the body politic, and a fixed permanent order, in spite of successive derangements and disturbances.

CHAPTER XI.

BUT there is still a fifth mark, which the Christian will seek of Divine approbation set upon his appointed rulers. With him, as indeed with all practical politicians, who build their systems not upon some idle philosophical theory, but upon the common wants, instincts, and perceptions of human nature, a government which does not rest its claim to power upon Divine sanction must be destitute of all solid title and authority; and a government which makes this claim requires the attestation of a voice independent of its own. What our blessed Lord has laid down as the necessary marks of a Divine commission, in His spiritual polity, are equally needed to guarantee the same commission in the civil polity. "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true."¹ "It is also written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true."² "I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me."

A claim to power is naturally listened to with jealousy and suspicion. An unsupported claim to spiritual power, or what is closely connected with it, to a Divine commission, is open to more suspicion than any other assumption, since it is in itself vaster; is more open to abuse; is less capable of being tested by the ordinary confirmations of evidence; is frequently the result of fanaticism and delusion; and is greedily and blindly admitted by

¹ John v. 31.² John viii. 17.

the enthusiasm of a vulgar and uneducated populace. It requires, therefore, in an especial manner, the guarantee of another witness; and that witness, to make his testimony valid, must himself be accredited by a recognised commission from God. He must be independent of the authority to which he testifies; distinct from, and yet united with it. He must be disinterested; and, for that reason, must be content with attesting the claim to power without conferring it. And he should be a witness within the circle of the nation, and not a foreigner, because an appeal to any foreign support or interference, however limited, is fatal to the independence, and even to the existence, of national life.

Upon principles like these, before the Christian Church was developed and established in the several kingdoms of the world, the civil governments, especially of the East, were supported and buttressed, as it were, by vast hierarchical bodies—Brahmins, Magi, the priesthood of Egypt, the Druids, and other similar spiritual authorities. And it is remarkable with what care, even in the highest assumption of spiritual power, these hierarchies disclaimed and discountenanced any direct usurpation of the civil power; and how rapidly such an usurpation, when attempted, was followed by the fall of the empire. It rested upon two pillars—upon two counterpoising sides of an arch—and with the overthrow of either, the whole structure fell to the ground. And now, since the development of the Church, she exercises the same great function in witnessing to the Divine authority of the “powers that be.” In this character it received appeals from princes, and decided the fate of thrones, during the middle ages. This was the truth upon which, mixed with the grossest falsehoods, the papacy built up its monstrous system of temporal usurpation. It was no mere fanaticism

of an uninstructed age: for the example of Charlemagne was copied by Napoleon; and the attestation of the supposed head of the Catholic Church, and the so-called vicegerent of God upon earth, was thought necessary by the most powerful of conquerors in the nineteenth century, as in the dark ages, to give validity to their title, and stability to their thrones. And the general truth is not destroyed by the admixture of falsehood which spiritual ambition or fanaticism may have infused into it. It is not true that the Catholic Church is placed upon earth to interfere violently with the rule of empires; "that it is set over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant."¹ This has been the sin of the papacy. But that the destinies of nations depend upon her under Christ; upon her attesting voice; upon her prayers and intercessions; upon the reverence and affection with which she is treated by rulers; and upon the reverence and affection towards rulers, which she alone can infuse into the hearts of subjects and exhibit in herself, is most true. But this prophetic office and spiritual influence is far removed from the arrogance which sets its foot upon the necks of kings, and disposes of crowns, as of property conferred on it by God. And it is not true that the voice of the Catholic Church, much less of any pretended representative of it, is to be required in confirmation of the title of national government. To eschew any foreign interference of any kind, except in the decision of controversies between nation and nation, is one of the first conditions of national existence. But the witness of that branch of the Catholic Church which is established in the nation, is one of the strongest, rather it is the strongest, the most necessary support to its govern-

¹ Jer. i. 10.

ment; and without it no government can long subsist. It cannot maintain its hold over the people, who are most keenly susceptible of religious pretensions, and a religious influence, though their religion may too often be tinged with superstition. Even now the excommunication of a government—its excommunication by its own act, by a voluntary apostacy, by a renunciation of attachment to the Church, or by an open profession either of scepticism or infidelity—strips it as much of its moral influence, of its command over the hearts of men—leaves it as much a mere creature of earth, a power whose vitality is confined to brute force and worldly cunning—undermines it as much, and menaces it full as much, as in less reasoning times a ban pronounced by the papacy. Man will struggle against man upon any temptation of covetousness or passion. But he will not fight against God. And he will not permanently believe that any power comes from God, if the human hand which wields it is not supported and consecrated by another arm—sacred, and independent, and disinterested. This is a true function of the Catholic Church in a Christian nation, and it is solemnly and distinctly recognised in the acts of coronation. Never did Napoleon's ambition tempt him to a falser step of policy than when he placed the crown upon his own head, instead of receiving it—not as from a giver, but as from a witness—at the hands of the ministers of the Church.

And in giving its sanction and attestation to a government, the Church must be contented with recognising any one of these three marks of Divine permission—either primogeniture, or established usage, or actual and settled power. It must not confine its view of the legitimacy of government to a single theory. It would not be justified in withholding its sanction to the rule of a Queen in Eng-

land, because Christianity seems rather to recognise that the man, and not the woman, is the image and glory of God;¹ nor in repudiating the Salic law in France, on the ground of its interfering with the privileges of primogeniture. It may endeavour to recommend the order of primogeniture as most agreeable to the order of Providence; but where a different order is established, there prescription sanctions it under the law of obedience to the "powers that be." And when the struggle is brought to a close between usurpation and legitimacy, and the hand of Providence seems clearly visible in placing even a Jehu upon the throne, or a Nebuchadnezzar in the city, the Church may not prolong or renew a hopeless conflict. No theory of monarchy would justify an attempt at this day in England to restore the right line of descent, which was departed from at the Revolution. That is true in the State which is not true in the Church—that possession heals the flaw of a title, and prescription legalises usurpation; till the resistance which at one time would be loyalty and a duty, at a later time becomes rebellion.

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 7.

CHAPTER XII.

AND I pause for a moment upon this point, because the principle has been transferred to justify the usurpation of the Papacy, to criminate the English Reformation, and to vitiate the title of the English Church ; and without distinction it may be mischievous. Usurpation, then, in the State is one thing, and in the Church another. The polity of the Church is far more distinctly marked out, as a positive institution of God, than any particular form of civil society. Episcopacy bears upon the face of history far more of Divine sanction and prescription even than monarchy. Its violation, therefore, is far more criminal. And there are reasons why one form of polity should be far more scrupulously guarded in the Church than in the State. In the first place, the Church is the channel for the conveyance to man of peculiar gifts from God ; of nothing less than spiritual life. And upon the analogy of nature, we have no more right to expect that this life should be conveyed through any other than its fixed appointed organisation, than we have to anticipate the diffusion of animal or vegetable life without the intervention of the ordinary laws of propagation. Break up or disturb the Divine organisation of the Church ; and we have at least no promise, no security, for the invisible performance of its most solemn functions. But, secondly, the Church seems to be placed on earth to correct and amend its disorders—especially the disorders of political society. It is like a

ship, with all its mechanism perfect, moored by the side of another which is daily falling to pieces, and hazarding a wreck. Place the Church, with its episcopal polity, in any nation, however deranged and vitiated,—in the wildest democracy, or in the most violent of tyrannies,—and give it scope to act; and by infusing principles, its own principles of order, of patience, of gentleness, of obedience, of love—by exhibiting in its own person the model of a sound constitution—by recalling minds to the examples and laws of the Divine government—and by accustoming them to make the will of God, even when only to be traced by hints and symbols, the rule of public as of private morals—insensibly, and without disturbance, it will act upon the whole chaos of society, softening, penetrating, remoulding, readjusting, bringing order out of confusion, and light out of darkness, till the most ruinous and dislocated fabric is restored to its natural shape; and a form analogous to that of the Church itself is impressed by it upon every nation in which it is embraced. History will sufficiently prove that such has been the influence of the Church, wherever it has been adequately developed in its true and apostolical form. And the frightful civil convulsions which it generated, when this form was superseded by the form of the papacy, or of dissent, may indicate the importance of preserving its Divine configuration; and prove that no length of usurpation can possibly justify its abandonment, or preclude the duty of returning to it, whenever it is permitted by Providence. A disorder in the polity of the Church must wholly prevent it from remedying disorders in the civil polity. It must even increase and extend them. If the physician himself has the plague, what must be the fate of the patient?

Thirdly, the apparent object, certainly the result,

of the Divine command of obedience, which ultimately legalises even usurped power in civil society, is not to perpetuate a vicious form of government, but to place society in that position in which that form may most easily and speedily be amended. When a surgical operation is to be performed, the first thing necessary is, that the patient should be fixed in one position. When a drowning man is to be saved, the first injunction is, that he cease to struggle. And when a nation is to be restored by the Church (for no other power, humanly speaking, can restore it,) from anarchy and misgovernment to a right order, its convulsions must first be quieted, and all its conflicting principles of movement reduced to one. This is the first step of the cure. Not even in civil society does the doctrine that prescription gives a title to usurpation, justify that usurpation itself. It is admitted only as the proper mode of ultimately superseding it. But in amending the evils of political society, the nation is chiefly passive, and the Church is active. And the same quiescence, the same willingness to "stand still and see the salvation of the Lord,"¹ which the Lord required of His people when He was about to save them from the Egyptians, may not be applicable to that arm by which He now would save them. "The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace." The Church, as possessing lawful authority, must direct and order rightly its own movements; while the duty of the nation may be only to yield itself up to its guidance.

But, fourthly, when the legalising power of prescription is applied in its fullest extent, it is applied to individuals and families, not to forms of government. No possible duration can make a Christian regard a democracy with any thing but fear and

¹ Exod. xiv. 13.

aversion. No time can render a due modification of a despotism, properly conducted, treason and rebellion. But when an individual or a family have, for a certain period, and under certain circumstances, been excluded from a throne which they once possessed, it now becomes treason and rebellion to endeavour to reinstate them, as it may be illegal and even unjust to disturb the possession of property which, however unjustly acquired, has been undisputed for a certain term of years. How far prescription, in this sense, may be applicable to the spiritual polity, so as to heal accidental flaws and interruptions in the transfer and derivation of the spiritual powers of the Church, through the apostolical succession of its ministers, it is not necessary here to inquire.

But this suspension of the original curse, that the crimes and the punishment of parents should descend and be perpetuated on their children—a suspension which must always be preceded by some goodness on the part of the children (otherwise their possession would not endure, in all probability, to the term of the prescription), is very different from pronouncing what is positively evil to be good, or from commanding adherence to that evil by a Divine sanction. Democracy cannot be good. Anarchy cannot be good. Any form of polity in the Church which is a deflection from the original constitution framed by the Divine hand, must be a deflection from good, and as such cannot be tolerated, much less recommended and perpetuated by the Author of good. It must be amended by the appointed authorities.

And, lastly, there are essential differences between a spiritual and a temporal polity. The temporal kingdoms of the earth, with all their glory, have, we know, been delivered over to Satan, to work

his will in them. Like the fabric of the earth itself, they seem to have been subjected to convulsions and dislocations; and to have been made the field in which all the powers of evil should battle—nay, to have been framed in the very womb and by the agency of turmoil and confusion; which, for some wise purpose, the Almighty tolerates, even in that creation which He pronounced good, and out of which there may now be slowly evolving some hidden creation of glory for a future time. This very disorder in civil society may be necessary for developing the perfection of the Church. The creature was made subject to vanity for the manifestation of the Sons of God.¹ And thus in the one polity disorder and derangement may be tolerable; there may have been scope purposely left for them; there may be patience required and commanded under them, which in the other are as moral blots, never to be palliated or endured.

And the privileges and blessings of the Church are not those of merely civil society. Temporal power and temporal property are not real goods. They are not promised under covenant from God; they may be shifted, altered, diminished, and still the essential happiness of man be left untouched. A wise man and a Christian will so think; and he will look upon disturbances in their arrangement with composure; and in the words and spirit of the Church, will pray chiefly, if not only, for his lot in the kingdoms of the earth, that it may lie in peace and quietness—peace and quietness amidst the elements of society as in the elements of nature—that Christian virtues and the Christian Church may grow up in fulness and strength under a pure and tranquil atmosphere, and out of a soil undisturbed, in which its roots may spread unhurt, and draw from it a

¹ Rom. viii. 20.

healthy nutriment. And yet the same eye which can look calmly upon any outward circumstances, provided they give him but repose, and can find hope, and strength, and satisfaction, under any form of temporal society, if only it continues undisturbed by violence, will regard with fear and trembling any alteration whatever in its own essential organisation. In any soil the tree may perhaps find nourishment and life; but only with one form of internal organisation can it derive that life. To alter the constitution of the civil polity is to disturb the soil — to alter that of the Church is to mutilate the roots, and destroy the heart of the tree. It is absolute death. And no prescription whatever can preclude the duty and necessity of restoring the system to its divine model and primitive integrity. No length of time can justify an ecclesiastical and spiritual usurpation. No prescription, even if it had been created, — that which, in the teeth of repeated legislative enactments and public protestations, never could have been effected, — could bar the English Reformation from its right, from its most solemn duty, of restoring the polity of the Church to its primitive and apostolical liberty; and this by hands not of self-appointed theorists, but of the old apostolical authorities acting under law, and claiming no new powers, but only their ancient privileges, which never could have been lost by abeyance, because they are positive appointments of the Almighty; and in such cases the laches of one generation cannot forfeit for those which come after.

CHAPTER XIII.

By reasoning such as has been employed hitherto, the Christian may arrive at the same conclusion with the profoundest political philosophers, and with the practical experience of history, that an hereditary monarchy, in which the succession is regulated by the law of primogeniture, is of all forms of society the best and wisest. One will there must be to give unity to the nation. And although no individual will can be preserved in perfect unity itself, free from caprices and vacillations, far more consistency and harmony is likely to be preserved in the separate acts of the same mind than in separate acts of separate minds. And when a thread of continuity is wanted to link together the succession of generations, and once more to preserve unity in their principles and character, though individuals perish and fall off, none presents itself more natural or more strong than that which nature herself has provided to perpetuate the society of the family, and to preserve the continuity of generations—the bond of parent and child. It maintains as much identity of being and of blood as is possible. It falls in with the natural instinct of family aggrandisement. It offers a hope at least of preserving a consistency of character. It fixes the attention and affections of a people to one and the same point. And it offers the least interruption to that continued series of actions and plans which it is desirable that society should carry on, unbroken by the accidents of death. The Creator has Himself established a certain unity

and continuity of being and life between the parent and the child, and through this relation between all the other relations of consanguinity; and the Christian will avail himself of it to bind together the relations of the civil polity.

But, in reaching his conclusion by the present process, a Christian will never have forgotten what he knows of the nature of the Divine Being; or that he has received this knowledge by Revelation through the voice of the Church; or that he owes to this voice the deepest gratitude and unbroken allegiance; or that the nature of the Creator of the world must be the true and only key to the mysteries of the world, His will the law of laws, His form the type and model of all other forms and constitutions. He will have threaded his way to the sanctuary of truth—that sanctuary in which the deepest speculations of unassisted reason have been thankful to close their toils—without quitting the safe shelter of the Church; while mere Philosophy will abandon its home, and rush out into the dark night and inclement sky, amidst pitfalls and precipices, and with a light which any gust of wind may extinguish; proud only to struggle to the same point with a disdainful rejection of every assistance from Heaven.

And now, having ascertained the principles by which the Divine appointment of the Supreme Will would be discernible, it would follow to trace out the laws by which a State, in the restricted sense of the word, may be formed, in order to support and assist it, in conformity to that divine principle which is so essential an element in society, and which the Scriptures so frequently assert. "Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow; but woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up. Again, if two lie together,

then they have heat; but how can one be warm alone? And if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken."¹

But there is a question connected with this part of the subject—the question of the origin of society—which is of no little interest and importance, and which may derive some light from observations recently made.

If by the origin of society is meant its final cause, or the object for which it was contrived, three theories have attempted an answer. With one, political society was constructed for the good and improvement of man—of man in his individual capacity. With another, it is only the development of the principle of covetousness and ambition in those who possess power; just as the formation of a family, and the establishment of dependents and retainers, is one of the first steps in personal aggrandisement. With the Christian, it is designed to exhibit the image of the Divine Being in man, in order to fulfil the good pleasure of the Creator; and even the disturbances and imperfections of civil society are instrumental to the realisation of this great object, in developing the Church militant upon earth, out of which is to be evolved hereafter the Church triumphant in heaven. And, although neither of the first two theories are complete, they are not wholly false. No human opinion can be wholly false. It is only imperfect, only half the truth. Society is necessary, and does conduce, and was designed for the good and improvement of man—for his discipline, correction, civilisation, and expansion; and it is actually formed by the aggressive and expanding forces of human covetousness. But both these views fall short of the last; and it is only the last which admits and includes both the others.

¹ Eccles. iv. 9.

But the question of the origin of society may bear another meaning. By whose appointment is it ordained? Is it a creation of God, or of man? Is it a human contrivance, with which we are at liberty to dispense, or which we may alter at will? Or does it come to us with the seal and sanction of a Divine institution? And the answer to this also is, that whatever flows necessarily and essentially from the original constitution of a creature, without meeting any moral check or prohibition, is to be accounted an intention of the Creator; just as the movements of the watch are attributed to the contrivance of its maker. And whatever tends and is necessary to the development of the full stature and perfection of man, is binding on him by a moral obligation; because the law of conscience, equally with the voice of Revelation, commands him to "be perfect, even as his Father in heaven is perfect." Political Society, therefore, is a Divine institution, because it cannot but spring out necessarily from the circumstances of human life; and we are bound to live within it, because without it we cannot attain to the maturity of our being. But to these moral laws Christianity has added a positive command. And with this command a Christian will commence his reasoning, before he proceeds to confirm and illustrate it by tracing the same law in the less distinct and more complicated characters of his own nature. But this positive law does not extend to more than the general principle of obedience to the "powers that be." The rest appears left to be evolved by the natural action of moral laws, and by the providential course of events. Faith, humility, fortitude, gentleness, love,—these are the virtues of the man, which will also prove the virtues of the citizen, and the best modellers of the State; and they will insensibly lead to the creation of that form of society which appears

to be most agreeable to the Almighty, because most analogous to His nature, most distinctly intimated in other parts of His creation, and most conducive to the good of His creatures and the manifestation of His attributes. They will lead naturally and necessarily to a monarchy; and in this view, monarchy itself may be called a Divine institution. But yet, it is not positively ordained, in the same manner as the Sabbath or the Sacraments. If the Almighty had given only the general law, that one day in seven should be kept holy, although it would be impossible but that one day, before any other, should be the fittest and most acceptable in His sight (for in reality nothing can be indifferent when viewed in its relations and effects on other things), still man might be allowed to acquiesce in the selection of any other day, without infringing a Divine command. But when the seventh day was positively fixed, to the seventh day he was confined exclusively. And if monarchy had been established in civil society in the same manner, and with the same distinctness, as episcopacy in the Church, a Christian could no more acquiesce, without guilt, in the existence of democracy, or take a part in its public management, than he now can in any form of Church-government which is a wilful departure from Apostolical and Catholic practice.

Why the Almighty has thus left human will and human reason free to choose and act in the settlement of polities, without giving it a more express direction than the moral precept of obedience to the powers that be, and hints and intimations of that form which is most acceptable to Himself, and the general moral law to do all things that are agreeable to His will, and to make all things after the pattern of His nature,—it may be rash to inquire. But so children are often left by their instructors to exer-

cise their own taste and ingenuity in their tasks and plays, without more than general outlines for their direction; where the object is not merely to produce the best result, but to exercise and exhibit the faculties and tempers. And, as it has been remarked before, perhaps the very failures and confusion which are thus permitted to occur in the construction of civil society, the disturbances with which it is distracted, the variety of abortive theories and conflicting experiments which history presents to us, may in themselves be part of the process requisite for developing the functions and shaping the creation of the Church. It may be necessary that the very soil in which that tree is to thrive should be frequently stirred and disturbed,—that it should be fertilised even with vile and loathsome things, with blood and ordure,—“that it should be dug about and dunged.”¹ But, whatever be the end of this providential arrangement, the fact is beyond question. And while man is so formed that he cannot but fall into political society, in some shape or another; and that society must comprehend certain elements of government and of submission, and be divided into the ruler and the ruled, the particular form of this system is, in a certain degree, abandoned to the rude hand and capricious imagination of man himself; abandoned, be it remembered, not without law, not as if he was free to take any course whatever without responsibility or punishment, but without express positive guide, except that of his conscience and his reason.

We now come, therefore, to the third sense in which the question of the origin of civil society may be put. What is the process by which man, thus left to himself, forms himself into states and nations? And two chief answers have been given: one, the action

¹ Luke xiii. 8.

of force; the other, the social contract. And as in every instance where human systems are erected upon seemingly opposite principles, so here also we may be assured that there is truth in each. History does undoubtedly exhibit a multitude of cases in which a number of seemingly independent powers have joined together, to place at their head an individual or a body, which they have bound down by solemn compact to exercise the power thus conferred only under predefined restrictions. And it exhibits as many cases where families and tribes have been amalgamated and consolidated into nations by conquest and physical force. And we may trace these several processes by the laws and action of the human will.

If civil society is formed by the reduction and subjection of many wills to one, so that the whole body becomes permeated with one spirit, and moves with the motions of that one will, how is this reduction and subjection effected by the natural action and relation of mind and mind, when brought into contact? By three principles. One is, the voluntary surrender of our own will to that of another, without reserve or resistance, in the spirit of faith and love. It is the resignation required by God Himself from all His creatures. It abandons even the right to mature prospectively any particular act of volition within ourselves, lest it should be contrary to the Divine Will. It subjects to that Divine Will not only the external acts, but the inward thoughts; and holds every movement suspended till it ascertains whether it can be made without opposing the movement of Providence. It is an entire abnegation, not of self, so as to sacrifice the individualism of our being, but of selfishness, so as to maintain the will of the subject in perfect and continual harmony with the will of the ruler.

The second principle is that of interest. In this the self-love is retained, and made, indeed, the spring and rule of action. But the will of the subject is harmonised with that of the ruler by a temporary accordance of inclinations, or calculations of expediency. The reluctance and independent movement of the mind is not destroyed ; so that the will of the subject should be yielded up as a voluntary sacrifice, or rather as a member of the body which cannot move without the consent, or against the direction, of the soul. But it is for the time brought to act voluntarily in the same line which is marked out by authority. And the reasoning which effects this may be more or less extensive and profound, and, in the same proportion, more or less precarious. A very enlarged calculation of expediency might bring us to the same complete abnegation of selfishness, which is produced by the spirit of faith. It might shew that such entire obedience to a Divine rule is far more conducive to the happiness of society, and to the good even of the governed, than any reserve of power to ourselves. But even here, without faith there would be no hearty, effectual, affectionate union between the ruler and the ruled. Each might move in the same path and orbit, but each in its own atmosphere, and around its own centre. They would be insulated and separate, without that moral union in a distinctness of persons which constitutes true goodness and true happiness. But when we think how far such profoundness of reasoning is from the great mass of mankind ; how various are their tastes ; how discordant their opinions ; how vague and unstable their fancies ; how shifting and perplexed, rather how impossible, is the process of calculation, by which the greatest amount of self-enjoyment is to be extracted from the contingencies of circumstances ; in which calculation we can nei-

ther collect all the items of the facts which will occur, nor foresee the disturbing forces produced by their collision; nor guard against extraneous accidents; nor maintain our own minds in the same uniform state; nor our relations to other beings and things in one and the same position, so as to derive from the same events to-morrow the same satisfaction which we contemplate to-day; when, in one word, we reflect on the absurdity and folly of endeavouring to preserve any two minds for any two hours in one uniform course of conduct, by separate calculations of their own good and evil,—we shall place very little confidence in any scheme of society in which the allegiance and obedience of the subject, and the unity of the nation, is to be preserved by the doctrine of expediency.

A third principle of social union still remains—the law of fear and of brute force. And, by this, external acts may be reduced under one will, and an external unity may be preserved, while the wills themselves of the subjects are not only not resigned to the ruler, as by the principle of faith, but are not even harmonised with it by accidental similarity of inclinations. They remain hostile and embittered; ready to burst out in rebellion with the first opportunity of success; and smother their movements and menaces under a sullen and murmuring compliance.

These are the only three principles which can act upon the human will—faith, interest, and fear. And, accordingly, to one or other of these we must refer every human step in the formation of civil society; the essence of which consists in the agreement and co-operation of many wills in one. And looking to human nature, it can scarcely be necessary to suggest that neither of these alone can be exclusively assigned as the cause and origin of society, or to ask which of them has acted most gene-

rally and most powerfully. Faith will rarely be found. Interest is a bond too precarious and too slight to bind the body together for more than a few acts. And to fear, to physical force, to the power of the strong man over the weak, we must attribute, in by far the largest proportion, the creation and the maintenance of national existence. In whatever degree body in human nature predominates over mind, and each separate atom of society retains its own self-will and independent agency under the influence of selfish passions, in the same degree it is necessary that they should be held together by a band of iron—not necessary that this band should compress every movement, or act as an instrument of torture—but absolutely necessary that it should be solidly compacted and rivetted round the whole frame of society. Men in such a state are but a heap of sand, with no vital principle pervading and holding them together in an organised form; and ready to dissolve and fall asunder at the first touch; or rather they are like a heap of living creatures with venomous fangs and tiger's claws, tossed in promiscuous confusion into a pit, and there struggling and battling to free themselves and escape, each by tearing and trampling on the other. And without a stern and strong arm to keep them still, they will be turned into a heap of carnage.

And it is interesting to see how nature has provided for the creation of this physical force, that it may never be long wanting. She has infused into man's self-will an aggressive, expansive, grasping instinct, perpetually and insatiably struggling till it reduces and appropriates to itself, and consolidates almost as a part of its body, all the external world within its reach. Even the child in the cradle cannot see a toy without stretching out his tiny fingers to reach it, and trying his power by endeavouring

to break it in pieces. As these salient points of selfishness spread and diffuse themselves, like circles in water, they meet and clash against each other—clash constantly and untiringly, until one is broken and gives way, and the two circles of property are fused into one. The moment the exact balance of power is destroyed, the larger circle proceeds to swallow up the smallest which lie around it, and thus to aggrandise itself almost without a conflict. The augmentation proceeds with self-multiplying forces, and can only be resisted by a confederacy of the smaller powers; and no confederacy can equal in unity of action, or in intensity of energy, the consolidation of a whole mass under one undivided rule. In this manner conquest and dominion spread rapidly; gathering vast bodies round a single centre, up to a point which nature herself seems to have marked by the outlines of physical geography; and beyond this they crumble into fragments. And besides the internal action of physical force, there are other laws which contribute to the same result. There is the natural love and admiration of man for that which is vast and powerful—there is the selfishness which strives to attach to itself some share in the greatness of another, by endeavouring to add to and enlarge it. In this manner property is often bequeathed to men who possess little other claim to it than the possession of vast property already; and the Roman empire, as well as the kingdoms of the middle ages, were often swelled by legacies from inferior powers, simply on the ground that they were already gigantic. There is also the desire to shelter our own weakness under the protection of strength, wherever it is to be found. And in all vast bodies there is a certain tendency to uniformity and regularity of movement, which is as necessary to their existence as it is conducive to growth and expansion.

Nature, moreover, has attached to physical force a singular supremacy, which deserves careful attention, as it explains many problems which at present perplex questions of Christian political philosophy. Matter, even without the assistance of mind, can entirely overpower, because it can destroy, mind, so far as this world is concerned. It can destroy life; and with life, to eyes that cannot look beyond the grave, the soul itself vanishes. The fall of a rock, the knife of a madman, the poison of an adulteress, the stumbling of a horse, the breaking of a wave, may decide the fate of empires. One privilege, indeed, is denied to it—permanence and stability. Its reign is only for the day. But in that day it triumphs without mind, and against mind; and triumphs over the whole range of human nature. Its rule is absolute, supreme, final, universal. How often do the grandest schemes of policy, embracing all the noblest interests of mankind, devised in the purest spirit, and matured by consummate wisdom, depend for their accomplishment upon a single life; and that life is each moment at the mercy of the least power which can lacerate a fibre, or puncture an artery! And to the movement of this brute force Providence has attached a wonderful degree of violence and rapidity. It is blind, and does not stay to calculate. It rushes headlong on the first object of appetite. It gathers strength and impetuosity as it moves; rolling on like a torrent, and swelling itself with every stream that it swallows in its vortex; lashing itself into fury with every success; plunging more madly into crime with every leap and fall; and throwing up its waves with more voracity and menace against every resistance. Mind, on the contrary, moves slowly, cautiously, and feebly. Instead of indulging the aggressive and expansive appetite of human cupidity, it endeavours to crush and extinguish it. It gives

up the world of matter, and the reign of the body, as an object not deserving thought. When compelled to act, it acts with deliberation, with constant reference to an unseen law and a Superior Will. It seeks quiet and repose. It disdains to employ material forces to gain its purposes: and yet matter can only be met and conquered by the instrumentality of matter like itself. It is scrupulous, diffident, unimpassioned, unresisting, gentle, merciful, long-suffering. And Providence has placed it upon earth, seemingly, as a victim to be sacrificed, "not opening its mouth even when led to the slaughter," and yielding to the hand of violence, that the Divine strength may be perfected in human weakness, and final glory be eduved, by a purifying process, out of a hard discipline of fire and of blood.

To physical power, therefore, is assigned, in the first and chief degree, the office of gathering together and consolidating political society. And no society can be permanent in which the supreme will is not also armed with supreme material force. And in this light the kingly authority seems peculiarly regarded in Scripture. It is an object of awe and terror, independent of moral considerations. "The wrath of a king is as messengers of death; but a wise man will pacify it."¹ "The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion."² "The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable."³ "Put not thyself in the presence of the king, and stand not in the place of great men."⁴ "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change."⁵ "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise

¹ Prov. xvi. 14.

² Ch. xix. 12.

³ Ch. xxv. 3.

⁴ Ch. xxv. 6.

⁵ Ch. xxiv. 21.

of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."¹ Human reason and human wilfulness would represent the regal power as a contrivance for promoting human comfort, and as an indulgent minister to their own wants and wishes; but Revelation gives to it uniformly a far sterner and more awful character; and as such it appears in the history of nations; and when this aspect is lost, it sinks into nothing.

Strength and power of resistance is the first essential for government, and therefore for the existence of society. And as in the formation of the individual man, the body precedes the mind—as in education bodily discipline and nutriment must be thought of before the development of intellect, or the culture of affections—as in the evolution of mind itself, the action and influence of the senses predominates in its first stages—as in the creation of habit, the outward acts must first be subjected to an external standard of right; and from this we proceed, first, to take pleasure in such acts, and then to understand their reasonableness and truth—as children are led and formed by the imagination rather than by abstraction—as this earth and visible universe are the womb out of which is to be formed a glorious immaterial creation—as corruption in the order of Providence is prior to incorruption, dishonour to glory, weakness to power, the natural body to the spiritual body, the living soul to the quickening spirit, the image of the earthly man to the image of the man from heaven—so is it in the construction of society. First bind the atoms of sand together by a bond, and in a framework of

¹ Rom. xiii. 3.

iron, and then proceed to infuse into them that breath of moral life, that spirit of faith and love, which will combine and consolidate them by themselves.

Nor to a Christian, who recognises in every part and movement of creation the hand of an overruling Providence, and in whose eyes even this shattered and disordered world of matter bears the impress and the type of a glorious world beyond it—to whom even this sickly being and mortal flesh is consecrated, by its mysterious connexion with a Being who bore it likewise, and with a glorified resurrection of the body—will the action even of physical force in the formation of society be without its sanctity and awe. He will no more desecrate, or blaspheme, or vilify, or trample in philosophical scorn upon the ravages of the conqueror, and the iron despotism of the tyrant, than he will think lightly of the whirlwind or the lightning. Both are ministers of God—ministers of terror, but ministers of God. Both are ruled in secret by an unseen arm; both work out ends of an inscrutable Providence. Nor, to suggest at once a grand and most important principle, which lies at the beginning of many and many a conflict and a crime in the history of politics, is there any such distinction and contrariety between matter and spirit, the body and the mind, the temporal and the spiritual, that either should be capable of existence without the other. The mind cannot act in this world without the instrumentality of the body; nor the body move without direction from the mind. The spiritual powers must perish unless supported by the temporal, and the temporal unless supported by the spiritual. Both spheres of rule and influence flow into and are concentric with each other, and they are divisible only in reasoning and by name. And he who first

endeavoured to sever them, so that the physical power of the nation should be emptied of its consecrating spirit, and this be all concentrated in the hierarchy ; or, on the other hand, that the hierarchy should be left in possession of religion only, and be stripped of all worldly succours and supports, might with as much wisdom, and as much pretence to a Divine sanction, have severed the soul from the body, and thought to preserve one as a walking statue, and the other as an invisible essence.

CHAPTER XIV.

BUT this permitted predominancy and precedence of the material over the spiritual in the construction of society does neither justify its moral abuse, nor extend to the exclusion of the spiritual. Brief temporary triumph is all that Providence has vouchsafed to brute force, even in this world of disorder. It destroys itself. Its violence exhausts its strength. Its attacks provoke attacks. It stretches its arms to grasp more than it can hold, and the whole accumulation tumbles to the ground. Its folly generates contempt. Its vice rouses against it the noblest of human virtues. And its severance of all moral ties loosens the adhesion of those instruments by which it is compelled to work. Even fear wears out by familiarity with danger. And unless a moral life is infused into the body of society, the body will split like the dragon in the idol-temple, or melt like a colossus built of snow, as by an internal fire.

Which, then, of the other two principles, interest and faith, shall we select as the most binding, penetrating, and tenacious cement, by which to attach to the ruler the body of his subjects? Modern political philosophy has almost exclusively selected interest. The mediæval theory of feudalism was founded upon faith. And a sound philosophy will maintain both. Man possesses a heart as well as a reason, and a reason as well as a heart; both precarious in their movements, both liable to hourly aberrations, both blind and corrupt, both varying at

every movement and in each individual ; neither of them, therefore, supplying a solid and immovable bond of political union, any more than of private affection ; but each to be cultivated and employed as far as possible for the consolidation of society.

All, therefore, that gathers the love and the reverence of the subject round the person of his ruler, and leads him by a natural impulse of the affections to lose his own self in the thought of his monarch, is to be studied and embodied in the institutions of a nation ; that faith, as far as may be, may be infused into the relation of the two parties. Whatever fixes the person of the sovereign, so as to concentrate round him the attachments and associations of his people from his cradle to the grave—whatever exhibits him as the fountain of mercy, and the dispenser of blessings—whatever surrounds him with those external symbols of honour and power, by which the eye acts upon the heart, with solemn ceremonies, with punctilious observances, with a certain degree of reserve and mystery, to rouse interest and exclude the familiarity which breeds contempt—whatever places him before them in that light and character which will most excite their admiration or their love ; as when he leads them to battle against their enemies, or throws himself at their head into dangers or hardships, or sympathises with their wants and feelings, or shares in their amusements or their sorrows, or deprives himself of enjoyment for their sake, or lays aside at times the burden of outward form, and shews himself as a man like themselves without compromising the dignity of the monarch—when he trusts himself among them without fear, even though menaced with assassination—when he exercises a necessary severity with tears, and tempers his public magnificence by rigid personal economy, lest his subjects should be burdened

by his extravagance: in all these acts, simple, and natural, and trifling as they may be, more is done to bind together a nation in one, by binding their hearts to one ruler, to soothe its dissensions, to arm it with force, to consolidate its polity, than by all the systems of antagonist powers that ever emanated from the dreams of a philosopher. The heart of a people is like the heart of a child, as tender, as susceptible, as full of warm affections and generous sympathies, as ready to throw itself without reserve, and almost without thought, into the bosom of a parent, when encouraged even by the most trivial acts. Individuals become seared and callous, and indifferent or incredulous towards goodness in private life, as in a sphere too small to excite interest or attention. They are insulated from each other by selfish pursuits, or the exclusiveness of rank; jealous from an assumed equality, or embittered by collisions and contests. But the sovereign is a being of another sphere; and just as the most hardened minds are often most sensitive to the emotions of a fictitious drama, subjects who in their private conduct would disdain to be carried away by an impulse of affection, are swayed by loyalty and patriotism by what in other cases they would ridicule as an idle sentimentality. In the very movements of masses of men there is much which prevents calculation, softens the heart, and encourages sympathy. Self is lost in the sense of communion of feeling. Feeling itself acquires intensity by contagion. With the first surrender of the mind to any powerful emotion, all the better and more generous instincts spring up and mingle with the passion, and a new taste is kindled for moral enjoyment; so that even in the worst excesses of a mob, the germs may be detected of high principles, which contrast singularly with the ferocity and recklessness of their crimes. All these are provisions of nature

for reducing mankind in society to that state of comparative childhood, from which a judicious rule will mature not only habits of docility and submission, but the highest and best energies of our nature—the energies of faith. And to speak of nations as children is not to depreciate their dignity in the eyes of a Christian. It is only to prosecute the analogy of domestic life beyond the mere outward form. They are children, because they require to be governed, as all men in the fullest vigour and maturity of their powers require to be governed in this life. But in the Christian child, to a Christian eye, there is a holiness, and dignity, and awfulness, beyond what any human rule or imagination can confer. It is a proud and elevating moment in the history of a people when they kneel before their king as their father, and he blesses them as his children—when they recognise the hand and the tenderness of a parent in his care for their welfare—when they refuse to hear or to think of his faults, much less to sit in judgment on them, as they would shrink from acknowledging the sins of a parent; proclaiming the grand maxim of the English law, that “the king can do no wrong”—when they acknowledge that they derive, and consent to hold, from him all which they possess, trusting to the laws which he administers that their possession will not be violated—when they feel that their lives are in his hand, not merely by his holding the sword, but by a delegation and commission from Him in whom are all the issues of life and death—when they would sacrifice their all for him, as for the head and fountain of all earthly good—the pillar of the State :

————— surgit,

Quo surgente domus, quoque cadente cadit.

Nor is it a less ennobling act when they gather round

to fight by his side and defend him ; abjuring all allegiance but to him under God ; swearing to reveal to him all that may offend against his crown, his person, or his dignity ; and losing every thought of self in his preservation and success. When the Greeks fought and died at Marathon, they fought for themselves ; to guard the soil which they were themselves to tread and cultivate ; to save their own hearths from ruin, their own children from the sword, the laws which protected themselves, and which they had themselves made, from being overthrown by a tyrant. They fought for liberty, for life, for glory, for independence. But it was their own liberty, their own life, their own glory, and their own independence. Self mingled with and poisoned the whole act. And a Christian eye will look with far greater satisfaction and admiration on the Persians who threw themselves out of the sinking vessel, that by their own death they might save their king, than upon Thermopylæ or Marathon. To defend our country is a glory, and to shrink from its defence a shame. But to defend our country in our king, is better than to defend our country without a king—in the same degree as a person is nobler than a thing, and an abstraction ; and as devotion to him more completely absorbs the lower and poorer instincts of our nature. Compare, under the same circumstances of peril, self-sacrifice, or suffering, the history of patriots and of royalists. Ask which have exhibited most energy, most devotion, most patience, most courage, most love, most perseverance, most dignity, most religion. Count their comparative numbers. Sum up the martyrdoms of Englishmen during the rebellion, or of Frenchmen during the revolution, sustained in support of their kings—martyrdoms of family, of property, of life, of all that man most values,—and the martyrdoms of Greece dur-

ing the whole period of its democratical revolutions. Strip from both all that was selfish and interested—faction, or revenge, or animal excitement, or blind fanaticism. Examine the appeals made at each period to the principles and feelings of each party ; and there will assuredly result the conclusion, that a people filled with the spirit of faith in the power which rules them, presents the grandest spectacle which can be exhibited by humanity ; but that for the growth of this spirit of faith, the power which rules them must be a person and a Sovereign.

And yet a Sovereign is but a human being. And how can a human being concentrate, and maintain consistently, the virtues and excellences, without which faith is but credulity, and submission slavery ? I answer, by the kingly character, apart from all private peculiarities. It is to the person of the monarch, whether that monarch be wise or ignorant, a female or a man, a child or an adult, that the loyalty of the subject is pledged ; not to that accidental group of external circumstances with which it happens to be associated.

And this brings us once more to that wonderful mystery with which our whole inquiry commenced ; which recurs again and again in a variety of political questions ; and to the oversight of which may be attributed so many of our modern political difficulties—the union of many distinct persons in the substance of one mind. Lord Bacon has enlarged upon one instance of this phenomenon with wonderful distinctness.¹ And it deserves great consideration.

The human mind, in fact, is like a single atom, or monad, or principle of motion, placed in the centre of a variety of threads of events, and combinations of circumstances and persons, with each

¹ Case of the Post-Note.

of which it connects itself in so many separate relations; and by attaching them to itself, and colouring and modifying itself, as it were, by them, it constitutes so many different minds, without ever losing its identity and substantial unity. Such is the fact in human nature. Thus Socrates used to assert that he was conscious of possessing two minds: one when his internal acting principle threw itself out upon bad objects, and under bad impulses; the other when it gathered round it thoughts and affections of holiness and goodness. And when the mystery is stated in language which must recal to our minds the grand theological verity which is the foundation of Christianity, let us beware of assuming it as any explanation of that awful mystery. It is so far a removal of its difficulty, that it exhibits as a fact, what in the statement is equally perplexing, and in practice leads to extraordinary involutions of duties and problems of reasoning. It presents a mystery; we dare not say of an analogous nature; but in an analogous subject-matter, the world of spirits—a mystery which, though we cannot explain, we are compelled to believe. We cannot, therefore, refuse to believe another mystery of the spiritual world on the ground of inability to explain it. This is the reasoning of Bishop Butler; and thus far it may be employed. It is presumption to carry it farther. And even the essential difference between a finite and infinite, a created and an uncreated mind, while it renders the fact of a mystery antecedently more probable, prohibits more effectually an attempt even to illustrate it by any thing within the experience of man.

But the fact of this assumption of different persons by the same mind is familiar to us all. The same being is a son and a father, a brother and a friend, a citizen and a churchman; good in some

actions, and had in others. And in each of these characters he enters into different relations, becomes involved in different duties, excites different, and even opposite, feelings. In the same manner the person of the king is distinct from the person of the individual. And the phenomenon cannot be more strikingly illustrated than when a queen regnant contracts marriage; pledging herself, as a woman, to obey her husband, who, as a subject, is pledged to obey her. In the same manner, also, is to be explained the conflict which so often arises between spiritual and temporal authority; where, as a minister of the church, an individual may command even those whom, as a simple citizen, he acknowledges as his superiors.

So one and the same power of steam or of water may be applied to an infinite variety of combinations of machinery; and in each constitute a different machine: one for cutting, another for sawing, a third for lifting weights, a fourth for driving piles—each with its peculiar work, character, and excellence. And when the mind contemplated them each, the steam-power by itself, though absolutely essential to the movement, would be regarded as nothing; it would possess no distinctive character, nothing of which any one could assert either good or evil. And so also the machinery by itself would be as dead, useless lumber until the power was attached to it. But both together would constitute the machine, as both together—the motive power of the mind, and the thoughts, acts, and circumstances to which it is attached—constitute the person; and constitute a different person with each change of circumstances, only retaining the unity of substance, the unity of memory and of conscience, and, what is most fearful of all, the unity of responsibility to God.

When, therefore, a Christian would preserve his faith, reverence, loyalty, and love towards his sovereign, whatever be the private acts and character of that sovereign, he must preserve distinct in his own mind the person of the sovereign and the person of the individual. And he must realise to himself the full idea of kingly authority and power. And this process of abstraction, though seemingly fanciful and difficult, is far otherwise in reality. It may be difficult to those who are brought immediately into contact with the individual, who see his private defects and vices forcing themselves through the veil and robes of his regal person. But to the great body of subjects this is not the case. They hear, and only hear, of a power infinitely above them, which is pictured to their imagination as surrounded with every attribute of grandeur, and raised far above the level of their own humanity. It comes before them in a thousand mysterious symbols; in the ermine of the judge, the writ of the sheriff, the bayonet of the soldier, even in the common proclamation of the public crier; in the magistrate, the constable, and every subordinate officer of the executive; in the language of law; in the ornaments of churches; in the unseen hand which is yet felt to protect the sanctity of their homes; in the overlooking eye which takes cognizance of all their acts, sanctioning the good and punishing the bad; in the universal, all-pervading being whose peace and dignity are wounded at any hour, and any spot, by the slightest infraction of the peace of his Society. In this way subjects reach the general idea of the monarchical person. And it is a miserable and criminal philosophy which would ridicule or suppress it. If to the faith which attaches us to the person of the king can be added faith in the individual, a Christian will not object to it; any more than he would regret that the

reverence due to a priest of the Church should be accompanied with reverence for the man. But he will not rest upon this private individual feeling. He will endeavour to keep it out of sight ; to bring the monarch before the people as little as possible in his private character. Least of all will he permit the man to be dragged forth from under the crown and the purple of the king, and exhibited to his people in the nakedness of our common earthly nature. He will tolerate no caricatures or scandalous anecdotes, no prying into the sanctity of private life, no omission of those ceremonial observances, which, however tedious and unmeaning they may seem, are infinitely important, as expressing the kingly character, and warning eyes, which have no power of deeper vision than beyond the external form, that there is a mystery and power before them which is not lightly to be approached or neglected. The faculty of discerning such invisible powers is one of the highest privileges and perfections of our nature. He who cannot discover the mind behind the movement of the body, the intention of a Creator in the character of his works, the hand of Providence behind the outward changes of events, the presence of God when all is dark, the world to come through the veil of the present universe, the inward and spiritual grace under the outward and visible signs by which it is conveyed to us—such a man is really sightless, and must wander, and stumble, and perish, and drag those whom he professes to guide into the same pit with himself, as blind leading the blind. And so with nations. “Where there is no vision, the people perish.”¹

And when it is said that this theory of a monarchical person is a fiction of law, a mere theory,—

¹ Prov. xxix. 18.

the answer is, Yes; it is a fiction—a fiction of that law which is the perfection of reason; a fiction in the same sense in which the highest and most glorious creations of man's imagination are fictions; creations, that is, without which the realities of life were dull and dead, and incapable of generating a noble thought, or of satisfying a purer aspiration. It is a part of the great fiction of society, and its foundation-stone. If political society be an end and good in itself, apart from the good of individuals; if its formation and maintenance be intended to exhibit upon earth, as far as may be, and to prepare for heaven, an image of the Divine Being hewn out of the quarry of mankind; if, to accomplish this work, it must possess unity, permanence, and consistency,—and yet the only materials which it can reach are human beings, shifting, discordant, short-lived, swayed about by every breath of accident and passion,—is not the task hopeless? How is a temple to be raised of water? How is a rope to be spun of sand?

Trace, therefore, the history of society; whether in theories of philosophers who have been called on to invent constitutions, or in its gradual development in practice; and we shall find that it must always be constructed on a framework, not of individual beings, but of general principles and abstractions, of fictitious persons like that of the monarch. There can be no permanence or solidity except in such mental creations, any more than there can be mathematical reasoning and demonstration except as built upon hypothesis. It was by abstract angles, which never existed in matter, not by any angle which can be placed before the eye, that Newton argued. A statesman fixes for himself in theory an arrangement of offices, a distribution of powers and privileges, an order of magistracies, without reference to any in-

dividuals. He arranges his various combinations of machinery, each with its prescribed force and relation to the rest; and having thus adjusted his whole system, he then takes individual minds as motive principles, just as he would apply the steam-power to the engine. And in a well-constructed scheme the arranger considers as little as possible the peculiarities of the individual. If they are such as to impede or preclude the proper working of the machine, they must, indeed, be rejected. But he will endeavour so to construct it that it shall work of itself, and with as little dependence as possible for assistance or guidance, for any thing but actual movement, upon the individual mind. To a forgetfulness of this principle must be traced the repeated failures of our modern social constructions. A society for education is to be established. The first act is to select an individual whose talent and experience will enable him to conduct it. Upon him the whole conduct of the work is thrown. He infuses into every part of it his own peculiar bias. He is its animating principle: when he pauses, all stops; when he changes, all changes with him; when he errs, the whole errs likewise; and when he dies, the fabric falls to the ground. Thus, on a larger scale, the Macedonian empire rested not on a fictitious theory of monarchy, and of artificial persons, as the words might be contemptuously used, but upon the individual Alexander and on his individual officers—and with his death the empire broke to pieces. Thus the strong arm of Charlemagne sustained his fabric of power; but the consolidation of it by positive institutions, by hereditary offices, by fixed relations and subordinations of authority irrespective of individuals, was not yet achieved; and with him it fell, exactly in proportion, and in the parts, in which “the theory and the fic-

tion" were deficient. Thus a general, in planning a campaign, requires to make his calculations by regiments and brigades, by abstract amounts of forces, independent of individuals. If the advance of a troop, or the maintenance of a post, is to depend upon an individual officer, he can scarcely risk a movement on so precarious a contingency. He enforces a discipline which reduces all individual distinctions to one uniform model. He arranges a succession of command which shall provide for uniformity of action through any series of deaths. He plans his operations with chessmen and counters; and executes them by human beings emptied, as far as possible, of all that makes them individuals, their free agency and their peculiar bias, and reduced to *automata*. And exactly in proportion as he can do this he is victorious. That machinery is most admirable which performs its work as well, whether, as in the steam printing-press, a child or a man is placed to guide it. And political society approaches nearest to perfection, when its functions can be carried on healthily and vigorously, whatever individual minds are placed to give to them their motive power; when a child may sit on the throne, and the throne still remain unshaken; and men of party be placed on the bench, and still the laws be administered impartially; and military discipline be so perfect, that it is obeyed and enforced even under the weakest hand; and legislation be conducted safely, whoever may be temporary legislators; and education carried on successfully, without the need of extraordinary talent or peculiar learning, by a system which even children may work. The office should make the man, not the man the office. Society should mould individuals, not individuals society. The fictitious invisible person should be exhibited as constantly present and uniformly acting. It

should be exhibited in abstract names, in peculiar dresses, in common localities, in general ceremonies which have no reference to individuals, and in which the individuals are lost. Upon this principle, to throw aside official costume is the first step to destroy the authority of the abstract person, and with it the constitution of society. To depart from official language on the bench, or in any executive function, is to supersede the magistrate by the man; that which is always venerable by that which must frequently be contemptible. To introduce innovations from our own caprice upon an established system, is to strip that system of its authority by making it rest upon ourselves. To cast aside the principle of tradition, whether in usage or in law, is to give up the whole fabric of society to be volatilised and dissipated by every movement of self-will. Hence the grand maxim of England, that our constitution and our law are built alike, not upon written statutes, the work of individual legislators, but upon usage and tradition. Hence the noble paradox, that the king cannot do wrong, and never dies. Hence, though he alone can administer justice, yet when James would sit in person in his own court, to try parties who were summoned by his own writ to appear before himself, the judge refused to permit it, because the abstract fictitious monarch, and not the individual, was contemplated in the whole of that process,—fictitious, and yet most real—real as all the grand truths and fundamental principles upon which science, and art, and philosophy, and practice, are built—without which life is but a chaos of facts, and creation a congeries of phenomena—and which, though impalpable and invisible to senses of flesh, constitute the highest region for the exercise of reason, and the only solid ground on which the aspirations of man can find a resting place and home.

And thus political society is, as it were, the poetry of practical life. And it supplies what Bacon has declared to be one of our greatest needs, and the end of all works of human imagination,—characters more noble, powers more great, relations more stable, systems more perfect, an unity more complete, than can be found in the heart and acts of any individuals. It is, in fact, a drama nobly conceived and brilliantly exhibited, in which emperors and kings, judges and officers, the best and most perfect that can be imagined, are brought before us; and we ourselves are made to take a part upon the stage, that we may witness the grandest truths of morals and practical philosophy developed in action, justice administered in perfection, law framed upon the model of purest reason, no other language uttered than that of truth and goodness, no other principles professed than those of benevolence and equity,—while all the time, in the hearts of the actors, the lowest passions of human nature may be raging; and, when the gorgeous stage-attire is stripped off, there is left but poverty and sorrow. And yet, who shall say in scorn that this drama is a lie, or that man can exist without it? It is a truth; because eternal truth depends not on the agreement of man's thoughts with his words, but on the agreement of either with the laws and the being of the Most High. No hypocrisy can make virtue false; no mere formal profession of the lips turns religion into a delusion. And Providence has so constructed man that society can scarcely utter any language but what is noble, even when the secret thoughts of individuals are full of baseness. Whatever be the motives of legislators, the preambles of laws must profess what is just and good. And whatever are the excesses of tyrants, they are, as such, the destruction of society; and must be cloaked under the pretence of some

virtue, or at least of some prudence. And we little know how much of private worth and elevation of character is thus nursed under the framework of the political system; how many ennobling instincts are gratified; how the imagination, and with it the affections, becomes warmed and expanded, by being placed in a system which exhibits human nature in its grandest aspect; and how all this is reconciled with truth and reason by that wise philosophy which recognises, in the structure of society, not a mere conglomeration of individuals, but an arrangement of abstract persons, duties, offices, and relations, organised upon the highest principles of justice and wisdom, to which individuals are attached merely as springs of motion, and in the goodness and perfection of which individual faults are lost and forgotten. And at the head of these persons is the monarch; a being armed with supreme physical power by the hand and permission of Providence; as such, the lord of our property, the master of our lives, the fountain of honour, the dispenser of law, before whom each subject must surrender his will and conform his actions; who, as the head of society, is bound by his divine commission, and often by a promise to his people, that he will govern them according to the laws of God, not with any human caprice; upon whom lies a most fearful responsibility; who, if he does his duty, must spend a life of toil and anxiety for the good of others—and, if he neglects his duty, must fall into far deeper guilt and misery than any of his people; who is placed in the front of the battle, and exposed to perpetual danger; who, when he errs, errs as a man, and not as a king, and is responsible not to man but to God; and whom we are commanded to obey, as an ordinance of God, in all things, except where we have received a prohibition as express from the same divine au-

thority,—and even then must be content to refuse to act with him, without raising up a rebellious arm to originate an action against him.

Such is the object of the Christian's loyalty and faith. And the mantle of the royal character is thrown over all the frailties and vices of the individual by the same hand by which kings rule,—hiding and veiling them all; just as in the spiritual world another veil of righteousness is thrown over the same human corruption by the same divine hand. And the twofold persons are united in one mind; just as the "old man" and "the new" are united in the soul of the believer, and the old man is buried in the new; and the new alone is contemplated, and loved, and honoured by the faith which sees all things in the Lord, and the charity which loves all things for His sake.

The very being of a Christian rests upon a similar fact, a similar mystery, a similar fiction—the union of two distinct persons in his own soul; one divine, the other human; one which unites him to Christ, and, through Christ, to God,—the other which keeps him bound to and incorporated with earth; one by which he is already freed from sin, justified and sanctified, and glorified, by the communication of the Spirit of grace, and crucified, dead and buried, and raised up above the heavens,—the other in which he still is walking upon earth, in misery, and shame, and corruption, waiting for the worm and the grave. And the whole of his Christian education and Christian excellence depends on his realising to himself the presence of the divine person beneath the veil of the human; cherishing it, honouring it, acting worthy of the vocation wherewith it calls him, mortifying in subjection to it all his members upon earth, absorbing in it the whole of his nature by the principle of faith.

CHAPTER XV.

If, then, material force is the first thing necessary for binding together the external fabric of society, and the spirit of faith is the second, for giving to that congeries vitality and permanent union; where shall we place the third element of association, interest and expediency? Is it to be wholly excluded? Assuredly not. It must occupy the same position which reason occupies in relation to faith; self-love to benevolence; the lower wants of our body to the higher aspirations of the mind. It must follow, not lead. It is an admirable support of feelings and affections, to find that what instinct prompts, reason confirms. It adds strength even to moral obligation (such is the weakness of our nature), when virtue is found to be also useful, and duty terminates in pleasure. And when loyalty is once assumed as the tie which is to bind citizens together in one country, then we may proceed to calculate the blessings of the system which it generates—its peacefulness, its order, the security of property, the sanctity of homes, the development of national wealth and strength, the refinement of civilisation, the expansion of intelligence, the liberty which it secures to individuals, the confidence of public and private credit, the spread of education, the diffusion of the rights and responsibilities of government, the augmentation of comforts and enjoyments, and all the other elements which make up an accumulation of national good out of the separate good of individuals and of families.

In what manner the principle of an hereditary monarchy facilitates this accumulation far more than any other form of society, may appear more clearly when we have traced the nature and formation of that State with which it must be accompanied. But it is right—it is absolutely necessary at this day—that all who value their country should raise a warning voice, whether in the legislature, or in the pulpit, or in schools, or in books, against the theory which would make this accumulation the end of society, and the primary obligation of the citizen. Such a theory has now gnawed its way not only into all our political philosophy, but into our public legislation and private practice, till it has degraded society from its highest functions, has sensualised and animalised its character, has introduced a chaos of conflicting elements into our system of laws, has secretly dissolved the ties which bound us to each other as well as to our sovereign, and has extinguished the noblest instincts of private as of public life. It must be thus whenever expediency is made the rule of action, especially of political action.

When the human mind has no person set before it on which to concentrate its affections, and vent and lose itself in faith, it must fix upon a thing. And things possess no value—are not goods—cannot stimulate desire, except in relation to ourselves, as they are good to us. Whoever, therefore, has set before himself any end but a person as the object of his affections and exertions, may be assured that he is in reality only indulging and seeking his own self-satisfaction. And the patriotism of a citizen without loyalty is, at the best, but a modified selfishness. He loves his country as he loves his property; because he sees in it a security for his own happiness, or the work of his own hand, or the glorification of his own ambition. And, at the best, when patriotism

assumes the form of general benevolence, general benevolence is too vague a feeling, and our fellow-creatures in a mass are too indistinct, too unworthy, too precarious an object for the mind really and permanently to rest on them. It requires to be absorbed in one person, one individual being, and, through him, to comprehend others; as in Christianity we are taught and enabled to love all our fellow-creatures in Christ. True faith, or true love, is no more compatible with vague general benevolence, than true religion is consistent with polytheism, or true domestic union with polygamy.

But when self is made the spring of action, and self-formed appetites the measure of human good, there must follow, in all men, an extraordinary suspension or extinction of the higher instincts of our nature, and, in most men, the lowest degradation. He who does not recognise a person external and superior to himself, is left without a lawgiver; and without a lawgiver, there can be no law: law in itself is impotent, is nothing but ink and parchment, destitute of all moral obligation to obedience, and all power to punish and reward—conditions which cannot be separated from personal relations and duties.

But without law there is no standard of good, except the opinion and inclination of the individual and of the moment. And if no such standard be raised by a power supreme and absolute over all the members of society, it cannot be raised by any among the members themselves, who, as such, are equal, and have no authority to bind each other. Where the State hesitates to speak with authority, no citizen is entitled to express more than his own opinion; and his own opinion may be but fancy. It is destitute of all sanction and weight.

Without faith, therefore, without law, without a fixed standard of moral good and evil, without moral

obligation, without fear of justice, or expectation of coercion, except such as, in the absence of immutable principles of morals, must be regulated by caprice, and exercised by the sole right of the strong arm, what is to become of man? What can result but the development of the self-will of each individual, without restraint, in that form which predominates in the great bulk of mankind,—in the young, the undisciplined, the unpurified, the animal rather than the rational part of human nature? and this, too, in a condition of the most violent conflict.

Such is the essential connexion between the doctrine of expediency and an unlicensed democracy; and between them both, and all those frightful evils, moral as well as physical, which republican states so generally exhibit, and no where more distinctly than in the democracies of Greece, where philosophy had most firmly established the political theory of expediency. Good, measured by bodily indulgence,—bodily indulgence purchased at any price,—wealth made the chief object of political struggles, and of private contrivance: hence the most abject poverty on one side, and enormous accumulation of riches on the other;—hence civil factions divided into the poor and the rich;—hence battles, not for privileges and honours, which, as in the earlier history of Rome, may be fought with moderation, and terminated in peace,—but battles for life, for subsistence—battles like that of helpless travellers against ravenous wolves, in which no thought of mercy or honour ever entered; nothing but the rapacity of want and the recklessness of despair: and with this went hand in hand a scepticism which penetrated and dissolved the primary conditions of existence. The standard of law being lost by the expulsion of the lawgiver, there perished with it necessarily the standard of all other truth. For

if right and wrong can be volatilised and reduced to mere opinion, no other obligations or belief can remain, so binding and so sanctioned. Every thing else is mere speculation, and may be treated worthily as such, from metaphysics to religion. Then came infidelity and atheism; and, with atheism, the wilfulness, and sensualism, and rapacity of man burst forth with redoubled violence, till (in the words of a contemporary historian) every form of atrocity was exhausted, the very language of good and evil was corrupted and reversed, and the whole nature of man was exhibited in the fulness of its wickedness—a spectacle and a warning to all future generations against the extinction of loyalty and faith, and against the doctrine of expediency.

And let us not be deceived. Let us not flatter ourselves that any degree of civilisation, or so-called enlightenment, any extension of ordinary education, any apparent stability of existing institutions, or profound calculations of economical prudence, will divest this doctrine of its poison, or save a nation from ruin in which it has once been established.

Facilis descensus Averni.

Swift and easy is the transition from the higher and more refined theories of good to the meanest and worst, when once those theories rest upon human opinion, not upon positive law. Think how rapidly and how powerfully the animal in man develops itself when once let loose from the chains of moral obligation. Trace the course of any people who have once entered on the path of innovation—of innovation proceeding on opinion, not regulated by precedent and traditional law. See how, in a few years, almost in a few months, innovation changes to reform, and reform to revolution, and revolution to rebellion, and rebellion to civil war; and civil

war itself, losing even the dignity of war, becomes a mad conflict of wild beasts, and a plundering of thieves and robbers. Think that, when obligations of positive law have once been superseded, and truth and good are abandoned to opinion, all opinions must be equal; every thing must be equal but the measures of brute force, which no theories, and no refinement, and no prudence, will coerce or reduce to acquiescence in equality. You may suppress the disturbing principle in the hearts of the few. You may expect the rich, the wise, the good, the happy in themselves and in their families, to remain in peace and silence, seemingly united in one body, because there is no occasion which exhibits their disunion. But you cannot still the waves. You cannot extinguish the cravings of famine, of lust, of passion, of the mere weariness of vacancy, which fixes on unoccupied minds. You cannot compress their grasping and expanding forces, except by a moral law, which by the doctrine of expediency you have abrogated, or by a physical force, which, with the abrogation of that moral law, becomes a brute power, on a level with their own in sanction, but as far inferior in energy as prudence is less violent than passion. If you are still to rule when the ruler is no longer obeyed in loyalty, you must rule by an army. Sooner or later, it must come to the bayonet. It was so with Rome. It was so with France. It is so now with England—in Ireland, and in the manufacturing districts. It will be so in every country where the bond of political union is taken not from the principle of loyalty, but from the doctrine of expediency.

And even while this battle is yet delayed, and the inert force of general prosperity, and successful selfish prudence, and prejudice, and precedent, still holds together the mass of society, what is the real con-

dition even of that proportion which is quiescent, and seemingly united upon calculations of expediency?

Selfishness has been installed as the fundamental axiom of life—correct, refined, prudential, sober selfishness—selfishness which acknowledges the need we have of others, which may even regard their welfare as conducive to our own,—but still selfishness. Every eye is turned inward and downwards. Every hand is stretched out to grasp what does not belong to it; and is checked only by fear of ultimate loss. Each family, and in that family each individual, constitutes itself the centre of a future system, into which every thing around must be absorbed; whether by rank, or by wealth, or by talent. If by rank, the distinctions of classes are no longer softened and ennobled by hereditary dignity, and by a fixed reciprocation of offices, but become harsh and offensive, as barriers of individual pride and arbitrary exclusion. If by wealth, a money-aristocracy is created, and, with this, money is erected into the great idol of social life; and all the sins with which such an idolatry is followed break in without restraint. And if by talent, then perhaps the very worst form of human selfishness establishes itself as the master-rule of the nation,—the selfishness of intellectual vanity, which can find no adequate satisfaction except in overturning all that is old, and making society, each day, the subject of some new experiment. Until upon revolution in theories follows revolution in practice; and the lowest and most depraved of minds, which has learnt the great lesson of such philosophy, that reason is perfect in itself, and that the reason of each individual is the constituted judge of all truth, carries his privileges into action, and the summary justice of the lamp-post is established, as in France, upon the philosophy of the rights of man.

Such a process is now rapidly advancing, under our own eye, in the heart of England. And its origin may be traced distinctly to that one great moral falsehood, which was established at the revolution of 1688, and has been promulgated ever since in the most active forms of modern philosophy, that expediency is the rule of right, and human good, as viewed by human eyes, is the object of political society. And the end is rapidly approaching. We all feel it, as we feel the acceleration of the current when the boat approaches a cataract. And the highest intellects, and most honest hearts, in the nation are busied with contriving schemes by which the coming fate may be averted. But there is one scheme, and one only, which has been appointed by Providence itself, to be the conservator of nations. Partially we have had recourse to it already. Each day encourages the hope of realising it in more fullness and perfection. Even men who antecedently despised it, have been compelled by experience to adopt it. You must restore the principle of faith as the bond of political society—the principle of faith in a person—the principle of loyalty to a sovereign. But how is this to be done? There can be no faith in man; our faith is due only to God, and to those who are the ministers and representatives of God. Kings, therefore, must once more be invested with a divine commission and character. All governments, of whatever form, must be invested with the same. But monarchies especially, because they are most agreeable to the will and to the analogy of God. But of this character they have been emptied by the theories which made popular will the source of power, and popular appetite the measure of good. And they cannot recover it by themselves. No men can claim power or authority upon their own testimony. They require a second witness. Neither can

it be found in the people, without confirming the very theory which it is necessary to abolish, that the voice of the people—the voice of men told by the head—not in questions of sense, but in matters of morals and science, is the voice of God and the law of truth. No mere popular acknowledgment of the divine right of government, and of kings, founded on the law of opinion, could give validity to such a title. It is opinion, and no more; and may be rescinded to-morrow by the same voice, and with the same efficacy, with which it is established to-day. Where, then, are we to look? I answer: If in any nation there exists an organised society of men analogous to the prophets of Judea, who claim to themselves a Divine commission and a Divine authority, upon a title which has not yet been swallowed up in the quicksand of opinion—who possess great truths, great laws, great revelations of the Divine will and the Divine nature, and who possess them not as human opinions, not as wrought out inductively by man from any experience of life, or interpretation of words, but as conveyed to them expressly and distinctly by God Himself, and placed, as such, beyond the reach of opinion: if this body of men can make good their claim to be ministers of blessings from God, and depositaries of the knowledge of Him, not by appeals to expediency, and conjectures of inclination, but upon plain, simple, external, historical testimony—the same kind of testimony which the highest reason desires to procure in all cases of evidence;—if, by the holiness of their lives, the disinterestedness and integrity of their social conduct, the elevation of their affections, and the profoundness of their intellect, they can bring the great body of the nation to acknowledge their own Divine commission, and to put faith in themselves;—then it will

be possible and easy for them to infuse the same spirit of faith once more into the relations of the civil as of the spiritual society. They possess a rule of action and a standard of morals, which opinion and expediency have not yet touched, and cannot approach. Obedience and loyalty is, with them, an express, positive command from God, prior to, and independent of, all human consideration. Kings and rulers, by them at least, are acknowledged as ministers of God; and the very title-deeds of government are in their possession, written in the Scriptures, and the interpretation confirmed by the uniform practice and prescription of the Catholic Church. They can themselves exhibit in their own person, and therefore infuse into others—especially by those ministrations to which supernatural blessings have been attached by the express promise of God—that spirit of humility, that separation from worldly interests, that self-sacrifice and self-denial, that enlargement of charity, that confidence in an overruling Providence, that power of discerning His presence, His representatives, and His hand, even under the darkest disguise of human frailty or earthly chances—that gathering together of affections and of labour round the spot and the person to which His good pleasure has attached us, that contented resignation, that submission to be a witness to truth, and joy in becoming a martyr, without aspiring to higher functions or larger spheres of action,—in one word, all those habits of thought and feeling, which in the Church are charity and faith, and in the nation are loyalty and true patriotism. “To suffer long, and be kind, to envy not, to vaunt not himself, not to be puffed up, not to behave himself unseemly, not to seek his own, not to be easily provoked, to think no evil, to rejoice not in iniquity, but to rejoice

in the truth, to bear all things, believe all things, hope all things, endure all things ;"¹ is as much the temper of the citizen as of the Christian. And he who has learnt it in the Church will practise it also in the nation, which, as well as the Church, is the work of God, and ruled, like the nation, by His ordinances and His ministers. But the power of infusing this spirit into the hearts of citizens depends upon one great fact,—that the Church herself can rest her own claim to authority, and to credence, upon *external positive law wholly independent of opinion*. If it rests upon opinion, like the State, it cannot save the State. One drowning man can give no assistance to another. He who would rescue his brother from a quicksand must himself be standing firmly on a rock. And if the Church be a State establishment, a human contrivance for the government of men ; if its truths are speculative dogmas, not unbroken catholic traditions ; if its moral laws are developments of heathen and rationalistic ethics ; if its officers are appointments of man, depending for their origin, and therefore for their permanence, on man ; if its claims to respect and obedience be made not on the express command of God, without reference to the sentiments of His creatures, but on theories of policy and promises of expediency,—then the Church is powerless, and its own fate is near at hand. Religion may, indeed, retain a longer hold upon the heart than the mere social affection, but it cannot resist the spread of self-will and self-opinion ; and, in the end, both the Church and the State, and, with them, all the truths, and laws, and institutions, and interests, which they have hitherto been enabled to preserve, will crumble into dust.

And this is one connexion between the political philosophy and perils of this day, and those great

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

doctrines of the Church, which secure it from the general reign and undermining power of opinion. He who would make men loyal, obedient, peaceful, contented, and orderly as citizens, must remind them, as Christians, and impress upon them deeply, that the ministers of the Church are not appointed of themselves, but have been sent from the first ages of Christianity, by those who had themselves received from God authority to confer their power upon others. They must preach the Apostolical Succession. Abandon this, and the clergy must depend for their power on human opinion; and human opinion will reject and trample on them, when they attempt to invest the offices of civil society with a divine external sanction. They must exhibit a divinely appointed scheme of polity, under a monarchical rule; the only scheme in which there really exists a rule external to the ruled; since an aristocracy decides by a majority, and the principle of majorities once admitted, must rapidly be extended till the populace are admitted to their share in it. A Church which is to support a monarchy must itself support Episcopacy; and that as a divine institution, founded by Apostles, and guaranteed as such by the catholic practice of Christendom. It must require acceptance of its fundamental doctrines and its paramount laws, its creeds and its Scriptures, not as human either in their origin or their interpretation, but as transmitted from age to age unaltered and unalterable; neither added to, nor taken from, in any essential part, since the time of the Apostles. It must preach the doctrine of tradition; not spurious tradition, such as that of Rome, which is no tradition at all, but catholic tradition, such as is recognised by the principles of our own Church, like that of old.

It must teach men from their infancy to regard themselves as members of a vast body, citizens of a

spiritual kingdom, of which they can neither discern the extent, nor understand all the relations, nor conform at once their inclinations to its laws, nor see its unseen King—but into which they were brought by others, without act or choice of their own, while they were incapable of exercising thought, or expressing will; which nevertheless, at the peril of life and all which they most value, exacts from them a rigid obedience—to which they have incurred the most solemn obligations, while they have received from it the greatest knowledge—from which they cannot retire without eternal death—of which they only form a small, a most minute portion; and yet participate in all its grandeur and its fortunes—and which binds them, by an invisible bond, to innumerable beings like themselves; that they may rejoice and sorrow with each other; call themselves by one name; dwell, as it were, in one spiritual city; share in one earth, the Church; and in one heaven, the presence of their Saviour; and acknowledge one Lord and King, whom yet they have never beheld with eyes of flesh. Whatever stage of dissolution political society has reached—whatever moral and civil corruption has alienated man from man, and brought a nation to the verge of anarchy,—teach them to regard themselves as baptised Christians, as having been made by baptism ‘members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven,’ and it will be possible to bring them to understand, and feel, and act up to their analogous relations to their kingdom upon earth.

So all the mysteries of political society—its theory of persons, its official privileges, as distinguished from personal character, its involved and intricate adjustment of powers, its fortunes, its hidden influences, the paradoxes which constitute its chief wisdom and fundamental axioms,—will present

themselves, even as old familiar truths, to those who have been nurtured in the Church, to accept its doctrines upon faith, to see beneath outward visible signs of Divine appointment an inward spiritual grace, and to reverence its sacraments. What Plato in his elevated philosophy unhesitatingly maintained, and Aristotle, with his modified scepticism and utilitarianism, was compelled to doubt, the Church system thoroughly realises. It makes the virtue and the duties of the individual coincident with those of the citizen. His eye opens as he advances and the prospect widens; another sphere of action presents itself, and new offices are accumulated; but the relations and proportions of these new objects are the same as before. And the thoughts, and habits, and faculties, which are required and matured in any field of Christian duty, however small, are the same which will fit him for discharging the vastest range of functions in the kingdom of God upon earth, or hereafter in His kingdom in heaven. The same law which draws a pebble to the ground, retains the planets in their orbits, and the sun in its centre.

And thus, if the spirit of faith, the only true bond of society, is once more to be infused into its masses, it must be by the ministrations of a Church, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical; Episcopal in its government, Traditional in its creeds, Sacramental in its ministrations, Mysterious in its doctrines—but, let it never be forgotten, finding for itself a home in the affections and reverence of the people by its own goodness and self-sacrifice, its purity and charity, its moderation and sanctity; that having first won the hearts of subjects to itself, it may then bind them also to their king.

CHAPTER XVI.

BUT if such is the account to be given of the true origin and preservation of Society, what becomes of the theory of the Social Compact—a theory which, however fictitious in its data, and extravagant in its results, has still recommended itself to minds of no little acuteness, and certainly coincides with many of our natural instincts, and seemingly, to a certain extent, with historical experience?

When thoroughly developed, this theory assumes the following form:—That society is composed of individuals—that those individuals are all born equal, equal at least in their right and title to power, if not in the possession of it—that they are justified, therefore, in claiming this equality of power and in maintaining it as they find means—that perceiving from experience, that such a state of conflict and war was incompatible even with the existence of man, they met together and voluntarily surrendered to one or more persons power over the whole body, that the whole body might be preserved in peace and order; but that this voluntary surrender was made on the condition that the power thus conferred should be exercised solely for their good—and that of this good they were to remain judges, and would retain in their own hands the right to resume or modify the power according to their own discretion, whenever they considered the compact to be violated by an abuse of it.

The theory might be stated in a more terse and

striking form of absurdity and self-contradiction ; but this is not necessary.

The first fallacy lies in making individuals, not families, the elementary constituent parts of society. And the object of this assumption is to evade the palpable contradiction to the hypothesis of natural equality contained in the condition and relations of parent and child. If, in the domestic union, human beings are not equal—if they are framed by nature under a form of the greatest inequality—if this inequality cannot be destroyed by any advance of strength or intellect in the son, so long as he is morally bound to reverence and obey the father who gave him life—and if the happiness and virtues of both parties depend on this very inequality, and on the duties and affections which flow from it,—then in political society the analogy of nature would infer not equality, but similar inequality, and a similar reciprocation of obedience and law in the governor and the governed.

To maintain, therefore, the political hypothesis, the facts of the family are put out of sight. And even the fifth commandment is so perverted and slighted, that the home, with such philosophers, becomes nothing but a physical contrivance for the preservation of animal life ; and its obligations are merged and lost in a barter of bodily enjoyment. The language of Locke himself, upon the domestic relations, must be sufficient to warn any Christian against blindly admitting his theory of political relations.

But, admitting the composition of society from individuals, as adult representatives of families, we are met by another falsehood,—the natural equality of adults. They are not equal—not equal in talents, in age, in experience, in bodily strength, in ingenuity of contrivance, in self-command, in intensity of pas-

sion, in goodness, in knowledge, in maturity of habits, in any thing upon which the relations of political society in this world can be adjusted and calculated. In one sense, indeed, they are equal—equal as Christians before God—equal as having nothing of their own, and as holding all which they possess by one and the same tenure, of permission and free gift from Him, through the merits of one Lord and Saviour. And yet even in this equality, what “diversities of gifts,” what “differences of administrations!”¹ “To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit; to another faith, by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing, by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues.”² Even in heaven there are rulers and ruled, “thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers.”³ How much more in the distribution of earthly and material things, of which the very essence consists in plurality, and the knowledge depends upon diversity, and the action upon opposition, and the beauty upon variety! They are not equal as nature forms them. They ought not, by any moral law, to be equal in their possession of wealth and power, either personal or political—for the Divine Being has not distributed such external things upon any principle of equality, or according to any proportion of moral or spiritual goodness. Their equality would destroy the very nature of society, by excluding any supreme and binding power to cement its atoms; any distribution of offices to harmonise its movements; any variety of relations to call forth duties and affections. And even if equality were possible

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 4.² ver. 8.³ Coloss. i. 16.

where men are perfect, it is impossible in that battle of self-will and passion, which the absence of a controlling rule lets loose upon the world, and in which the whole struggle is directed to the attainment of the greatest possible inequality, and is continued until this is achieved. Throw men together in a body—unbind the restraints upon their wills,—and then preach to them the doctrine of equality; and you may as well let loose all the winds of heaven upon the sea, and command that its waters will lie smooth.

But there is a third fallacy, which has perplexed these reasoners, and which they do not profess to escape from.

Any body of individuals acting together must act by the voice of a majority. They must divide into two portions. Nothing can prevent this. It is an elementary law of all society. However small or however large it be, one portion must be ruled and governed by the other; and governed against their will, contrary to their notions of expediency, and, where expediency is the standard of goodness, contrary to their sense of right. So again, the majority itself must resolve itself into two portions,—the single voice which decides it, and the number which without it remains impotent and lifeless, a *caput mortuum*. No theory, no contrivance, no fiction or fact, can prevent society from falling into these three elementary forms and portions. A Monarch, a State, and a People, it must possess. Who shall be the State, who the Monarch, and who the People, may be doubted; and on these points experiments may be infinitely varied. But in their essential characters they must exist.

What, then, becomes of the theory of society in which there is to be no people; that is, no persons who are to be governed against their will; in which the equal rights of all are asserted upon the autho-

city of a natural law, when nature herself provides, by an irresistible force, against the maintenance of those rights? How has nature pronounced that all men should be free, when she has rendered it impossible for them to exist except in society, and impossible for society to exist without one portion of it being reduced to a state of slavery—that is, of subjection to a rule in which they have no voice, and against which both their reason and their inclinations must necessarily but ineffectually rebel?

I pass over the absurdity of supposing that men living, as it is called, in a state of nature, that is, in the very last state in which nature designed that they should live,—a state of war, and license, and anarchy—of pillage and bloodshed—of mutual aggression and mutual suffering,—that such men, familiarised to crime and nurtured in rapacity, should meet together and voluntarily surrender themselves to a magistrate and a prison. We hear much of fictions of law; but surely no fiction was ever bolder and more gratuitous than this. It may be assumed as an universal law of nations as of individuals, that they can never correct themselves. He who has fallen by his own fault must be raised by the strength and the sacrifice of another. And a people once sunk in barbarism can only be civilised by some external arm.

But in the nature of this voluntary surrender lies the hypothesis of a contract. And it requires to be examined.

A contract, then, implies the existence not only of two wills, persons, or parties, between whom it is made, but an equality, or seeming equality, in their power. Where there is no equality there can be no contract. It is a wonderful reflection, when we think on the covenant between God and man. But even in that covenant it is maintained by every

gift and attribute which is imparted to man by the Gospel, and which raises him from earth to heaven. That which man can take by his own arm he will not consent to receive as a gift. What he can command is his own ; not, indeed, by the law of God, or that law of morals which is an application of the law of God ; but by that law of self-will and covetousness, which, in a state of anarchy previous to the formation of society, is supposed to exist, and to suppress which it is said that society is established.

But the only principle upon which a contract can be made is faith. It implies a reciprocal transfer of power or of good, in which the surrender must be made before the return can be received ; in which therefore no security can be obtained but the promise or oath of the first receiver ; and which promise or oath derives its whole credibility from the faith of the person to whom it is pledged. Wherever this faith is wanting, the contract really resolves itself into an appeal to superior force. You purchase a pair of gloves in a shop, and pay down the money, knowing that if the shopkeeper refuses to give you the gloves, after he has received the money, the magistrate can compel him. Or you lend money upon the security of a third person, knowing that the law will supply you with a physical force to obtain possession of the amount, whether the borrower keeps faith or not. But wherever this physical force, on the side of the surrendering party, is wanting, if the contract is to take place at all, it must take place on the principle of faith. The terms of it may be fixed by calculations of expediency ; but its realisation must depend either upon force or upon faith. But the grand Social Contract, as it is termed, can make no reference to force. Either the power which is supposed to be lodged by it in the hands of the rulers, is really the supreme ultimate power

of the nation, which must exist somewhere, and which constitutes the government; or it is an inferior delegated portion of it, and the supremacy is still retained, the ultimate appeal is still reserved, in the hands of the people. In the former case, no force exists which can compel the fulfilment of the contract, supposing it to be violated. You raise up a government; you place it in possession of arms and armies; you surrender to it your own defence; you post it in your fortresses and citadels; you strip all its subjects of their means of resistance, and prostrate yourselves unarmed and helpless at its feet: for if the ruler is created to repress crimes—crimes of which every member of the society is suspected or is guilty—the criminals must be placed at his disposal. Where, then, is the power which is to control himself? *Quis custodiat ipsum custodem?* Not upon earth, not in the nation, or in any part of the nation; for by the very terms and fact of the contract, you have emptied yourselves of it. Only one arm exists to overrule the human rulers, and to protect and avenge the subject—the arm of Providence. *Deum ultorem expectet.* And to this arm you must trust, when you make the surrender of your power. I suppose that such a fact as a contract actually takes place. That a multitude of savages, stained with each other's blood, and burning with rapacity and lust, meet together, as wearied out with crime, and agree to appoint themselves a keeper; an agreement as easy to make and as rational to conceive as the theory which usually accompanies it, that men without language assembled themselves, and invented a language by convention, communicated without power of communication on the means of communicating in future. If the government which they elect is really to be their keeper and their ruler,—is to be any thing but a puppet and a tool in their

own hands, to be shifted and moved at their caprice, they must give him supreme power. With the surrender of supreme power they are themselves powerless; and the only principle which can warrant such a risk, is faith in his character and in Providence; and the only course which is marked out for them in future, is a patient submission to his will, even when he violates the terms prescribed to him before his appointment. *Deum ultorem expectet.*

Even the social contract, then, ends in the same necessity for faith and resignation which is required by the monarchical principle. There is no escape.

But if its advocates are not content with this; if they take the other alternative, that in conferring the powers of government they never abandoned their own supremacy, then the social contract is at once annihilated. There is no more contract between a people and a governor thus appointed and restricted, than between a king and a constable, or a man and his walking-stick. Both are servants, instruments, machines, to be wielded and disposed of by the hand which is their master. And the government resolves itself into a democracy.

And yet the theory of the social contract is not so easily quashed. No theory which has obtained a strong hold over mankind, at any period, can be without its truths. It is true that, in a certain sense, all men are equal; true that they owe to each other in all their intercourse, especially in their relations of governors and subjects, reciprocal duties; true that subjects possess a right, a moral right, to be well governed, just as kings possess a right to be obeyed; true that the people have the power, the physical power, of destroying any government with which they are dissatisfied. They may rise, and burn, and massacre. The physical power must always be with the multitude; and when it is properly

organised, it must be, for the time, triumphant. But the words, 'right and power,' 'can and may,' have been sadly confounded and abused. And they will not be cleared from the most mischievous perplexity, until we set before us the fact, so strange to our natural moral expectations, and seemingly so irreconcilable with the justice and goodness of the Creator, except by the spirit of faith, that the scales and proportions of physical power and of material good, in this world, do not coincide, and cannot be adjusted to correspond with the measures of moral goodness. That good should be requited with good, and evil with evil, is a truth of our conscience, eternal, immutable, universal, with the reversal of which every principle of morality must fall to the ground. That physical power and material advantages are goods, is a natural instinctive fancy, but not a truth. They are not goods; not, at the least, such goods as Providence would assign as its best reward of virtue here. But those who think them goods will often think that they are withheld, and unjustly, from those who deserve them; and man, who is "proud in heart," and "whose ways are all clean in his own eyes," will never acquiesce in their withdrawal from himself. The possession of them becomes, in his view, a right; and a right so consistent with the primary law of justice and with the will of God, that it must never be allowed to rest in abeyance. But confess that such things are not good; or, at least, that they are not intended by Providence to be distributed exactly in proportion to moral goodness; and the claim to them ceases to be made. The circle of our moral rights diminishes in our own eyes as the circle of our humility expands, till at last it is reduced to nothing. Before God man has no rights whatever. And before the ministers of God he stands as before God Himself, in all the ministrations which they exercise

in the name and by the authority of God. "Charity seeketh not her own."

And yet the word 'right' is used in another sense. It signifies claims which are sanctioned and may be enforced by the positive laws of our country. Right is that which is ruled and ordered—ruled, whether by God or man. And upon the positive enactments of man we must rest, and by them define our title to external goods. Moral rights and legal rights are thus, in the eyes of men, frequently contradictory. A. possesses legal rights to a vast estate, which he wastes in encouraging crime. B. possesses a legal right to close up a pathway, by which he causes serious injury to his neighbour. C. is allowed to accumulate an enormous capital, which enables him to monopolise a branch of commerce, and to impoverish many families; but no one may interfere with it. D. hoards up wealth, which, if diffused, would save hundreds from starvation and vice. E. holds an hereditary office for which, individually, he is unfit. F. is honoured with a family title, without possessing any claims to personal respect. All these are violations of that supposed law of equity—supposed, not real—by which we expect that material good will be proportioned to moral good. But yet they are "rights." And they are sanctioned by the same great Author and Founder of society who has given to man power over His material world, and authority to frame and to enforce laws, and a command to him to act by precedent and prescription, to "stand in the old ways, and walk in the old paths," and "to meddle not with them that are given to change."

Moral rights and legal rights—distinguish them well, and we shall not be misled into the crimes which have been suggested by the "rights of men." Moral rights to external goods we have none. All that we possess we must receive, and hold, and

abandon, as lent, not given, to us by God. Legal rights we possess only by the positive laws of the country; and no one must attempt to disturb them by private acts, however inconsistent they may seem with our individual calculations of expediency, or with our theories of moral justice.

And thus we reach all the truth which is contained in the perverted proverbs, that "might makes right," and "possession conveys a title," and "positive enactments are the foundation of justice." They are foundations for our title to external goods. And all external goods must be held by superior might, because they are at the mercy of it. And possession may be made to constitute a title, because the first object of society is permanence and rest; and, under certain restrictions, it must endeavour to prevent all disturbances and changes in its system. But in all this the question of moral right is left untouched. It is reserved for a higher tribunal—for Him who gives the talents—to judge and to punish their waste and their abuse. And to Him alone the possessors, whether of property or of rule, are responsible for the exercise of their power.

These principles are of vital importance in one of the chief functions of government, the regulation and distribution of social wealth. But they are touched on here, only as they affect that theory of rebellion and revolution, which is involved in the popular watchword of the rights of man, and in the theory of the social contract.

And having now traced out the general laws by which the supreme ruler of the nation is pointed out, and the society is bound together under his will, we may proceed to examine the constitution of that body which is to be associated with the individual sovereign in the government, and which may be properly called the State.

CHAPTER XVII.

THIS State, as before shewn, is no fictitious or accidental element in the composition of society. It is a natural and necessary formation. Whether society be created by a congeries of individuals pressing together, and forcing out of their own body smaller and smaller combinations to execute the functions of government, till they reach the single presiding unit, or supreme will of an individual—as popular assemblies cannot act till they elect a council, nor that council till it appoints a committee, nor that committee till it fixes a quorum, nor that quorum till it nominates a chairman and casting-vote—or whether, on the other hand, the crystallisation of the body flows out from the head, as in the expansion of the family; and the monarch creates officers, and those officers appoint subordinates, and those subordinates gather under them the mass of the people,—whatever be the process, we are met alike by the natural development of a body distinct from the monarch; possessing an independent will, and virtually armed with the chief physical power in the nation. The ministers, counsellors, army, and police of a king; and the majority in the democratical assembly, exclusive of the vote which turns the scale,—occupy the same relative position, and in each case constitute the State.

The functions of this body may be resolved into four:—

First, to assist in forming and perfecting the will of the sovereign, as by advice and counsel.

Secondly, to carry into effect the decisions of the sovereign, as an executive.

Thirdly, to check and control the possible aberrations of his will.

And fourthly (a function most important to be considered), to exercise and elevate as large a proportion as possible of the people, by a participation in the offices and habits of government.

All these functions are correctives to evils and defects which are inseparably connected with the individualism of the monarch. As an individual, his reason must be imperfect, and his appetites liable to deception. And he requires the wisdom and goodness of others to supply his own defects, and to give unity to his own will, without which there can be no permanent unity in the will and in the acts of the nation. As an individual, again, he is powerless. His arm cannot reach, or compress, or guide the movements of the people. He must see with the eyes and hear with the ears of others, to take in a sufficient sphere of action. He must spread himself through and over the whole body of society, by grasping and attaching to himself a vast mass of machinery of human ministers, as the bones and nerves and muscles of the body are attached to the brain, and form the framework on which the whole body is moulded, impressed, and moved. As an individual, again, he will be subject to aberrations from right; and he must be surrounded with checks and safeguards, for his own sake as well as for that of others. And as an individual, lastly, if he absorbs in himself all the offices of government, he drains the vitality, energy, and goodness of the rest of the community, leaving it without a field for noble action, and without the highest discipline for its virtues—those virtues which may mainly be resolved into reciprocal obedience and command; and to

foster which this earth seems framed upon a system of relations, of which inequality, and the duties flowing from inequality, are the essential basis.

But in framing such a body, there is an obvious peril. To perform its functions rightly, it must be infinitely superior to the monarch,—superior in wisdom to advise, in strength to support, in virtue to check his vices, in numerical and physical force to contain within it a large proportion of the people. It must possess a personality of its own, a will, a thinking principle, a power of originating action. It must occupy a vast space in the eyes of the people. It must be independent, to be capable of strengthening, correcting, resisting, or governing. The pool which is fed from a spring, and has no spring of its own, cannot supply water to its source, when that source is exhausted. We cannot lean upon an arm, which leans wholly, for its own support, upon us. We cannot seek for counsel in those, whose only wisdom is derived from ourselves. When the root dies, the branch withers, unless it be laid into the ground, and can draw to it life from fibres of its own. And if the State be wholly the creation of, be wholly dependent upon the monarch, it cannot aid the monarch as he requires to be aided.

But with its independence, and distinct personality, what is to become of the unity of the nation? How are two wills to be reduced to one? How are we to prevent perpetual conflicts between the monarch and the State? The State must still remain a subject; otherwise society becomes a monster, a body with a double will, and double principle of motion; under which it must be torn to pieces in daily battles, until one is enslaved to the other.

Thus, then, we reach once more the fundamental problem of society,—how to create a body which shall be distinct from the monarch, and yet inseparably

connected with him ; superior to him in power and goodness, yet inferior to him ; a ruler, yet a subject ; independent, yet dependent. And once more the Christian will be struck with the wonderful parallelism between this political phenomenon and the moral phenomenon of his own nature ; and still more with the fundamental mysteries of his revealed theology. There also, in his own nature, he recognises the two persons, the spirit and the flesh lusting and striving against each other, neither of them to be annihilated, but both, by a holy discipline, to be harmonised into one. And there also, in the mysteries of theology, he is taught to profess his faith in a Being “ both man and God,” inferior, yet equal ; of two natures, but one person ; united with His Church upon earth as with His bones and with His flesh, yet seated on His throne in heaven ; and ruling over all its movements by His Holy Spirit, while He submits His own movements to be ruled by the prayers of His people. Kingdoms of the earth are, in all their essential analogies, framed as the kingdom of heaven ; framed upon mysteries—which are rather experienced in practice and acknowledged in faith than to be distinctly explained by reasoning.

There is but one mode of solving this problem, of preserving two wills in unity without destroying their distinctness and moral personality. It is by subjecting one to the other in faith, reserving to the subject a power, not so much of originating a counter movement, as of refusing to obey impressions ; in other words, of passive resistance. If it has no power distinct from that of its superior, it is a mere slave, a tool, a machine. It loses its personality as an ἀρχὴ πρᾶξεως. If it moves against its superior, it becomes a rebel. The power, therefore, and the right of standing still, is all that is left ; and it is

perfectly sufficient. A parliament or a citizen who would never raise an arm against the sovereign, and yet would refuse to act at his command when his commands were wrong, would retain their perfect personality, without destroying the unity of the nation by a conflict of two wills.

Secondly, it is obvious that a body which is capable of independently refusing to move, is able also independently to attempt a counter-movement; and when armed with such power as the State possesses, armed in fact with power superior to any other in the realm, it is beyond all control whatever but the moral control of its own conscience. Nothing but this can hinder it from trespassing on the authority of the sovereign. It may be easy to prevent a populace, but it is very difficult indeed to prevent a parliament, from becoming a rebel, except by its own self-command.

Thirdly, it may be observed incidentally, that if anywhere the Social Contract is realised, it is between the State and the monarch; not between the people and the monarch. The people are, by their very condition of inferiority, excluded from the possibility of contracting. They have nothing to give. Whether in the hands of a majority of themselves, or under a despot at the head of an army, they are alike in the position of slaves. But the State and the monarch are placed much nearer on an equality. And the internal history of nations is, for the most part, a series of struggles and compromises between these two parties; the justice or rectitude of which struggles in no way involves the popular theory of the "rights of men." They may be wrong even in parliaments, but their being right in parliaments will not make them right in the people. To one is committed, by Nature herself, some portion of the functions of government, to the other none. Parliaments

may refuse their consent to a tax ; but a subject has no right to withhold it, when parliament has granted it. Whatever be the truth of an original compact, the subject was no party to it. Not his rights, but the rights of the State, are violated, when tyranny is attempted ; and though his own rights are involved in those of the parliament, as the child's are involved in the parent's, it is for the parliament not the people, the parent not the child, to obtain redress.

But, fourthly, if it is difficult to secure the dependence of the State upon the monarch, it is also difficult to secure its independence, its rational and wise independence. All society has an irresistible tendency to merge itself in the hands of an individual, and to accumulate power round him. This is indicated by the miserable alternative to which unchristian democracies are condemned, of shifting their power from hand to hand ; and of allowing no one individual to retain it for any time, lest he should establish an authority beyond the control of the people. Further, in a well-constituted society, its fundamental theory places the origin of all power in the hands of the monarch. This tendency is realised by it and indulged. And it seems impossible to throw the subject thus entirely under his sovereign, both physically and morally, and at the same time to demand from him an independent exercise of his will.

He is, indeed, a rational being, and as such cannot but exercise his judgment upon measures and principles proposed to him. And he is responsible to his Maker, as well as, and prior to, his sovereign. And he is bound to pause before he obeys ; and to examine if obedience to his earthly ruler involves disobedience to his Lord in heaven. And in these necessary appeals to reason and religion are generally placed the origin of the independence of the subject. They are the true origin ; and they involve

the necessity of cultivating in the State, and in the people from amongst whom the State develops itself, habits of thought and sobriety, of piety and wisdom. Education, religious education, is the first condition in the formation of a State.

And with these words, vague and indistinct as they are, modern political philosophy appears to be content. A few years since, it was thought sufficient that the State should be able to rest its independent action, and to determine and justify its resistance to the monarch, upon principles of reason. But as reason, severed from duty to a superior being, to a moral person, terminates, as we have before seen, in calculations of expediency; and expediency in contrivances for animal and sensual enjoyment; and those contrivances in violence and fraud, as the easiest method of attaining their object,—even theories of expediency have been compelled to advance farther, and to add, that education should be moral; that when the state exerts its privilege of independent movement, it may be guided by considerations of the right and the wrong, as well as of the pleasant and the painful. But even this was not sufficient. Independent reason and independent conscience were found neither of them safe foundations on which to rest the independence of the State. Ethical theories rose up fully as startling as any in logic or metaphysics, and even more obviously and immediately destructive of society. And both sheltered themselves under liberty of conscience and liberty of thought. It was found that independence could not be admitted without law to control it; nor law exist without a lawgiver; nor any lawgiver supreme and universal, and irresistible, be found for the independence of the human will, but the great Lord and Lawgiver of the universe. Education was now to be religious. It was a great advance. But we have

not yet reached a safe and solid ground. It is true that, consistently with the peace and unity of society, no subject can be permitted to withhold obedience from his sovereign, except on the plea that he owes a prior and contrary obedience to his God. But if he draws this contrary law from his own reasoning, or from his own conscience, these are once more made the rule of his action, and the standard of truth. And as many crimes and rebellions will be perpetrated under the pretence of a Divine command as under the plea of an enlightened philosophy, or of a tender conscience. The law must be external. It must be positive. It must be placed beyond the reach either of reason or of conscience—to be confirmed by them, but not created by them. It must be revealed. And education was then extended to comprise Christianity. But, with the name of Christianity, instead of one positive, definite law, rose up an infinite variety of creeds and sects, all claiming alike the knowledge of God, and to be the depositaries and interpreters of His will, and therefore to be proper guides for the will of the subject, in his relations to his earthly rulers, as in all other matters of human life. What was to decide between them? All alike appealed to the written word of God, but differed in their interpretation. And all rested their several interpretations on the reason and feeling of man—on opinion. Reason and conscience, so called, once more became the standard of truth. And with them for interpreters of the Divine Will, it mattered little whether an infidel, with his own notions of expediency, or a sectarian with the Bible in his hand, stood ready to object to, and to resist, the will of his ruler. Each could bring out from his inquiries any result which he desired.

But among these sects, yet not of them, stands another body, also bearing the name of Christi-

anity, but refusing any title which implies party or dissension. It also carries in its hand, and appeals to, the Bible. But it differs from all the others in disclaiming an appeal to opinion. It propounds its system, not as expedient or good, but as authorised and instituted by God. It maintains its fundamental doctrines, not as educed by man from human interpretations of Scripture, but as historically witnessed to by the Church, and to be subsequently confirmed by Scripture. It asserts its authority, not as derived from man, but as conveyed in an unbroken stream, from an external source, and that source the Apostolical body, appointed by God Himself. All its essential institutions are positive. Its character is that of obedience. Its spirit is faith; and its historical testimony itself is made to rest on the evidence of sense, as that which is least exposed to deception—least liable to the perversions of self-will—most open, most general, most permanent, most positive and external, and therefore most agreeable to the true principles of reasoning, of all human elements of belief.

If, therefore, the State is to be independent of the monarch, it must rest this claim upon a Divine commission. And a Divine commission it finds, both in the positive law of revelation and in the dictates of conscience and reason, that it is to obey God rather than man; and therefore, that when man commands what is contrary to the will of God, it is bound to refuse submission. But to secure this liberty from abuse, it must be rescued from the caprice of opinion, and placed under the conditions and restrictions of positive law. A subject must not think that such and such a command is contrary to the will of God. He must know it, and know it from the mouth of God, or from the ministers of God; from some source external to man. He can-

not find even the pretence to this external knowledge out of the limits of the Catholic Church. And therefore the Catholic Church, with all its peculiar principles, which, as we have shewn before, places its authority and its doctrines out of the reach of human opinion, is an essential and necessary element in the composition of a State. The State must be the Church, and the Church the State. I am speaking not of the Clergy, but of the whole body of Christians contained within its communion.

Emancipate the State from the control of the principles of the Church; abandon them to any form of Christianity in which a definite external creed and positive external authority are wanting; and you will immediately find that it rises up in rebellion against its Sovereign, under the right and true plea of a Divine command to refuse to do wrong; and nominally under subjection to that law, but, in reality, with its self-will let loose to follow out the devices and imaginations of its own heart, under cover of the right of private interpretation. This constituted the English rebellion; just as the licence of reason apart from religion originated the French revolution. And this forms that connexion between dissent and sedition, and between Church principles and obedience, which has so often been exhibited, and recently with such signal evidence in our own manufacturing districts. It is the explanation of the attempt now making to construct an education for the people which shall be not only intellectual, but moral; not only moral, but religious; not only religious, but Christian; and not only Christian, but such as to make them true members of a Catholic and Apostolical Church.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IN all this reasoning we have not yet departed from the firm ground of indisputable facts. The existence of the State as distinct from the Monarch is a fact. It is not a thing which should be, but which must be. And the existence of the Church—its duty to gather under its wing, and to nourish in its principles, the whole body of the people, but especially all those who are called to any office of government; and its claim, and rightful claim, to the character of an external, positive Institution, established by God Himself, the depository of His revelation, and the historical witness to His laws—all this is likewise a fact, as distinguished from any theory of analogy or expediency.

But the Christian may be permitted to see, in this primary constitution of society, a striking parallelism to the constitution of the family. It is not good that man should be alone; and, by a natural provision, there is wrought out in the person of the State, a help meet for the individualism of the Monarch. It is wrought out of the body of the nation; that body which, by an inevitable law, is bound up and made one with the Monarch, to be governed by his will, permeated by his movements, involved in all his fortunes, whether of good or of evil; that body which he is bound to love and cherish as his own flesh. Again, "the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made

he a woman, and brought her unto the man.”¹ And so, into the State, the help meet for the Monarch, an independent life and being is breathed by the same Spirit which gives vitality and power to the Monarch. Both alike derive their authority from Heaven. And on the independence of their separate authority rests the closeness of their union. Make the State the creature of the King, or the King the puppet of the State,—let the wife be the slave of the husband, or the husband be the subject of the wife,—and nation and family alike fall into confusion. But the woman is brought unto the man, to love him, to honour, and to obey. And the law of obedience, in like manner, is laid upon a Christian State, upon the whole people—laid on them, as members of the Church, by the voice of the Church herself, by its great Head and Master, in direct commands, in the analogies of the Jewish law, in the precepts of Apostles, by the patience of martyrs, by the unworldliness of saints, by spiritual promises, by the hopes of a nobler kingdom than any upon earth, by the menaces against those who take the sword, by every example and injunction, which can bind the conscience and influence practice.

But in this view, the circles of the Church and of the State have been made identical. The whole State is supposed to be contained within the body of the Church, to be guided by her ministers, and to acknowledge her laws. Even the Monarch himself, not as monarch, but as man, is embraced within the Church. What, then, is to become of a nation, in which, as is the case with England now, a large proportion both of the people and the rulers have severed themselves from the Church, or have never been brought within it? I answer, that, in propor-

¹ Genesis ii. 21.

tion as this is the case, in the same proportion the unity, organisation, and perfection, of the Body Politic is impaired. In the same proportion the State, being deprived of an external standard of Divine law, will indulge its own theories of utility, its own licence of conscience, and assume to itself the privileges of the Monarch. In the same proportion it will be impatient of control, arrogant in its demands, presumptuous in its claims to omnipotence. And, unless it be crushed by the strong hand of an arbitrary Monarch, and its power be transferred to an army, which itself will then become the State; or, unless it be won over into the bosom of the Church by methods prescribed to the Church by God Himself, it will end in absorbing into its own body all the prerogatives of the Sovereign. The Sovereign will be degraded into its servant. And the popular voice having once been acknowledged as the supreme power of the nation, when embodied in a Parliament, the same voice will make itself heard in other forms of popular assemblage, till a perfect democracy is established. Such must be the history of a nation in which external Divine law has been abandoned, and human opinion in religion, and therefore on every other subject, has been substituted for positive enactments. And of this the ancient empires of the world were well aware. In fear of this, they built themselves up under the shelter and moral rule of vast hierarchies; and excluded those hierarchies themselves from any direct assumption of civil power, while they permitted to them absolute supremacy in spiritual matters. Conscious of this, even the democracy of Athens would tolerate no innovation in religion, even from a Socrates. And with this great maxim held before it, the Roman empire advanced from conquest to conquest, thinking more how to preserve an unity of

religion, and to exclude from it the licence of opinion, amidst a diversity of nations and of creeds, than of any other problem, in their wonderful policy of government. And even in the cry for liberty of conscience which is now raised around us, and among the wildest advocates of latitudinarianism, the same principle may be recognised. If men differ in religion, it is felt that they must differ in the whole plan and spirit of their lives—differ irreconcilably,—and that the State must be torn to pieces. To exclude difference, to produce unity, it is proposed that all differences should be cast aside as unmeaning and injurious; and a scheme of comprehension is exhibited, by which all classes of religionists may be brought together under some vague, unsettled creed, of which the only fixed article is, the duty of denying every other article which any other man may think proper to deny himself. And if opinion is once let loose to indulge its own caprices in society, we know that society must be destroyed. And, therefore, to neutralise opinion, to degrade it, to make it powerless, it is first made paramount. As if we would hold up a drunken slave to shame by exhibiting him in the attire and on the throne of a monarch, free to expose himself before the world in the vagaries of tolerated insanity. For, make opinion the standard of truth; and all opinions become equally true: and when all are equally true, all must be equally false. You cannot discriminate. And thus, the very doctrine which gives to it supremacy strips it of every title to respect. *Occidit liberando.*

How, then, it may be asked, is the nation, and especially the State, to be brought once more within the arms of the Catholic Church? I answer, by the same means, and none other, by which God has appointed that mankind in general should be made

members of it, and retained within its fold. We must search in the laws of Revelation, in the uniform practice of the Apostles, in the recognised principles of Christianity, not in any worldly policy, for the maxims to guide and accomplish this great work. It is indeed a good and blessed thing for the political philosopher, when he can find a people thus already prepared to develop from their body a true Christian State. But he cannot make a Christian. He is himself powerless. None but the Church can make children to herself, under the blessing of God. To the Church he must look. He may encourage her, assist her with resources, protect her from contempt and injury, supply her with external things needed for her work. Especially he may and must support her in maintaining those fundamental doctrines which distinguish her institutions as positive, her creeds as historical traditions; her authority as apostolical, her government as episcopal, her sacraments as mysteries, her whole character as an ambassador from God, not as a creature of, or dependent upon, man and the opinion of man. A statesman who cannot recognise the connexion between such doctrines and the principles of civil obedience and of the constitution of the State; one who should join with the popular cry in holding them up to scorn, and in describing them as theories, and dogmas, and opinions, not as Divine facts, must be incompetent to understand the very nature of society. He is unfit to govern. He cannot govern. For government implies resistance; and resistance a solid ground on which to rest belief in truth, and faith in Providence. And when this solid ground is abandoned by abandoning positive Revelation, none other can be found. He also is left, like the most vulgar of the mob, to be blown about by every wind of opinion. And his fall can only be made

more sad and more fatal by his struggles to save himself from it, by some better principles of guess-work in his own heart.

But this great question, 'How to bring and preserve a people and a State within the unity of the Catholic Church?' falls under the general head of National Education, and will present itself in a future place.

CHAPTER XIX.

I TURN now to another question, which follows after establishing the fundamental relation between the Monarch and the State; or, supposing the State to be thoroughly Christianised, between the Monarch and the Church.

The first law of organisation, and the chief difficulty in analysing, is to establish correct divisions. And political philosophy, like every other science, commits its worst errors in drawing lines of distinction where they are not drawn by nature, and in forming its groups upon arbitrary principles of classification. We have before us the whole nation, which has split itself, by a natural process, into three elementary crystals—the People, the State, and the Monarch. But the State itself is too vast a body not to require still farther division. And history presents us innumerable varieties of forms, into which it has been cast by theorists, upon the principle, sometimes of wealth, as when offices of government are regulated by a census; sometimes of birth, as in an aristocracy of rank; sometimes of age, sometimes of moral merit, sometimes of military service; or upon one or more of these combined. The constitution of senates, councils, parliaments, magistracies, ministries, and judicatures, all fall under this head. But as a botanist would endeavour to frame his system, not upon a mere fancy of his own, but upon some type and law established by nature; so a Christian will rejoice to find that, by contemplating the State as a Church, he can at once

obtain a division divinely appointed by God Himself. It severs itself into clergy and laity. And this division corresponds, in its principle, with the essential characteristic required in the State. For if subjects, to exercise their independence rightly, must exercise it in subjection to a Divine law; and if, to prevent that law from being tampered with and perverted into a mere expression of human opinion, it must not only be committed to writing, but must be guarded in its application and interpretation by an external living authority, the body of the State must contain in it a body of spiritual rulers and spiritual teachers, distinguished from the members who are to seek at their hands for knowledge and correction. And thus it is consonant to philosophy as well as to history, that the clergy of the Church should form one and a most important portion of the members of the State, and that an ecclesiastical synod should be recognised in it as well as a parliament.

But, upon the same principle, the Christian will endeavour to trace some positive Divine distinctions, by which to proceed in his farther analysis of the clergy and of the laity respectively. And here, once more, in the clergy he is provided with a recognised classification into bishops and inferior clergy. And though, as a Divine appointment, he has no right to estimate or try this by any theory of expediency of his own, he may still recognise in it the same correspondence as before with the essential attribute of the State. Episcopacy is the only form which exhibits and secures the principle of positive external law. Practically, the fact is proved by the rapid declension and degradation, in which Christian communities, which have cast off episcopacy, have sunk into corruption of doctrine, and the worst forms of heresy and schism. Abstractedly, it may be understood by observing that, wherever a number of human

wills are brought together, and power is lodged with them as in the hands of equals, they are left, strictly speaking, without any superior,—any power or judgment but their own. The decision is, indeed, entrusted to a majority; but as a matter of compulsion, and for the very purpose of excluding the pretensions of any individual to overrule the rest. It matters little whether the body be large or small, a popular assembly or a synod of presbyters. They are left alike, all of them, to be guided by their own reason, all claiming a supremacy to their own will. And the principle of rationalism, and the authority of opinion, being once established in the highest place, it will inevitably flow down, and penetrate into the whole mass of the society, and subject doctrine as well as law to its process of corruption. But place an individual will at the head of a body, and in this, at once, is incorporated the principle of external law. Not only do all the tendencies of a monarchical form of government incline to unity, prescription, control, and the exclusion of caprice in the subject; but it realises—and no other form can realise—that principle of subjection without which there can be no adherence to rule, and, therefore, no fixed standard either of truth or morals. The rule of one is absolute, ultimate, responsible to God alone; and obedience to it must be practised upon faith. And thus episcopacy and monarchy in the state are correspondent exhibitions of the same principle. And where episcopacy is destroyed, the monarchy will soon perish.

I do not propose, however, to enter farther, at present, into the organisation of the clergy, considered as a constituent part of the State. It is a more difficult task to pursue the analysis of the laity upon a similar principle, and to trace out in them those grand outlines and configurations into which

Nature and Providence have designed them to be cast.

Yet seemingly these are obvious. To execute the four essential functions of the State we require to select from the people the wisest men, the strongest, the most virtuous, the most religious—and all who can be trained in those combined habits of obedience and of command, which are requisite to the perfection of the man: the wisest to give counsel; the strongest to support the arm and execute the will of the sovereign; the virtuous and religious to raise barriers against the aggressions of his individual self-will; and as many as possible of these, and of those who are capable of becoming such, that as large a portion as possible of the nation may be disciplined and perfected.

But how are we to discern these qualities? Who is to be the judge? The Sovereign? But if he alone elect and create the State—his advisers as well as his servants—those who are to resist him when in error, as well as those who are to execute his will—the State, which is created, may also be destroyed by him. It will become dependent on his caprice; a mere machine; and its vitality and value will be lost. But the people? We must not say that the popular voice is not to be highly regarded in discriminating character. It is appealed to by God Himself, even in ecclesiastical elections, as a valuable and important witness. But it cannot be trusted indiscriminately; and will require to be balanced by some other power, lest the same kind of result as before should follow, and the State become wholly the creature of the people—ruled by its turbulent and impetuous caprices, and be raised into direct opposition to the Sovereign. But the clergy? They, by their very position, are constituted in a peculiar manner “discerners of spirits.” As teachers, they may properly

pronounce on the attainments of those whom they have taught. As guards of the conscience, they should possess an intimate knowledge of the heart. As charged with the care of souls, it is their first office to become acquainted with the feelings, the vices, the virtues, and the talents of those of whom they must hereafter give account. As the possessors of an immutable standard of morals and of faith, as the dispensers of the Word of God, they are appealed to on abstract questions of right and wrong, true and false; and may therefore be fitly accepted as judges of persons. And as removed by their office and obligations from the temptations of personal aggrandisement, they constitute a neutral body, whose impartiality and equity may be safely trusted. Exactly in proportion as the clergy discharge their duty, they offer a most important assistance in discriminating those characters out of which the State is to be constituted. It is true, that, as men, they are fallible and faulty—that they also are open to the charge of covetousness, of the lust of power, of party spirit, of rebellious self-will—whenever the self within them triumphs over their official obligations. And it is true also, that to place the appointment of civil officers and of legislators in their hands, would throw too much weight into the spiritual scale, naturally inclined to preponderate, and would involve them too directly in the struggles of those temporal interests, which they can never control to good, without being personally detached from them. Any such interference of the clergy, as is witnessed in the Romish priesthood of Ireland, must be destructive of the balance of the constitution, and of the clerical authority itself. But blended with other voices, the voice of the clergy should and must be heard in the nomination of the State. Where they discharge their duty, they must possess the

highest moral influence, and that influence must tell, even if not purposely directed, upon every act of the laity, especially when they are called on to exercise a right of election.

One more principle of election remains — co-optation. And it is reasonable that those, who are themselves worthy of trust and able to govern, should be competent judges of characters to be placed in the same situation. But the great danger, like the great advantage, of this principle, lies in the tendency to perpetuate and absorb power in the same hands; a tendency which, if indulged in, the State, already by its very nature invested with more real force than the Monarch, would soon destroy the balance of government, by removing that check upon the accumulation and aggrandisement of power in the hands of subjects, which is maintained by dividing their forces, and distributing their functions.

But in all these modes of choice there is an element which the Christian will distrust, which he will at least fear to make the basis of his division — choice itself — choice entrusted to man. It must be admitted in some form. It cannot be excluded from the actions of a being, before whom good and evil, blessing and cursing, are placed by his Maker as the very condition of his moral life. But, as far as possible, a Christian will exercise this power, which is a duty rather than a privilege, in subjection to an external law. He will endeavour to distinguish what is fixed and positive, from what is left undetermined by a superior authority; and will choose between these two — choosing always the fixed before the undetermined; and not conceiving himself at liberty to decide arbitrarily and capriciously, as if both lines of conduct were equally open. Heresy, the brand and the beginning of all unchristianism, means nothing but choice — arbitrary

choice,—choice which makes no reference to positive law—choice which selects between doctrines simply as consonant or agreeable to our own conceptions—not upon historical evidence, that one has been externally declared by God, the other wrought out by man. And so a choice between man and man, guided by our own judgment of their wisdom or goodness, will appear in the eyes of a Christian a temptation, and almost a sin.

But by what marks are we to discern characters—such characters as are fit to constitute the State, if not by our own opinion? How has Providence itself pointed them out? Are there any external positive indications of the Divine will, under which we may shelter our own weakness and blindness? Or, to apply a practical case, when a Christian is called on to give his vote for a member of Parliament, how can he guard himself from acting entirely on his own judgment; and leave the selection, as far as possible, in the hands of Providence?

CHAPTER XX.

Now it has been observed already, that whatever may be our own expectations of the moral government of God, it does not practically confine power and authority to the hands of the wise and the good. The moral attributes of God, as Bishop Butler has remarked, may perhaps at present be only struggling, and tending, as it were, to a future perfection, through present hindrances, permitted for some wise purpose. Or if earthly power be not a good, even a perfect moral system may not require that it should be dispensed in proportion to moral goodness. Or it may be even necessary that man should live under a seemingly bad government upon earth, that he may be trained to those habits of faith, and patience, and resignation, and obedience to positive law, which, as an imperfect creature living under the rule of a perfect Creator, it may be necessary that he should exercise even in the kingdom of Heaven.

But whatever account may be given of the fact, it is a fact that by the laws of Providence earthly power is not confined to the wise and good; and a Christian will no more be surprised at this in the creation of the State, than in the appointment of the Monarch, or the designation of the head of a family.

And in each he will apply the same principles. He will inquire rather whom God has entrusted with power, than whom man may consider trustworthy. And thus he will arrive at two external

marks, by which, not exclusively, but primarily, he will expect that the selection of the State should be determined.

The first of these is property. Property is power. Its distribution, though subject in a measure to human laws, is yet in a peculiar manner reserved to the Providence of God. And it necessarily involves a command over the labour and the conduct of others. This is especially the case with property in land. Its possession, therefore, is to be considered, in a certain degree, as an indication of the will of God, external to our own judgment, that the possessor is to be entrusted with power. And upon this principle the Christian will do what all political philosophers have been compelled to do; and in dividing and classifying the laity, he will take property, especially property in land, as one of the first bases of his system. He will do this without any danger of establishing that worst and most debasing form of government, an aristocracy of money—without any fear of severing the nation into that most frightful of all schisms, a schism between the poor and the rich. This is effected when money is viewed as a good, as a means of selfish indulgence; and when political power is given to it solely for the sake of its own preservation. And to this theory we are rapidly tending in our own country. Where government is supposed to be framed solely for the guardianship of property, there it must be entrusted to property. And there it will be exercised for the benefit of property, till poverty is made a crime, and wealth a virtue; till the poor are driven to desperation, and the rich sit in their palaces surrounded by clamours and menaces; and there swells from day to day, on one side, the mass of want and vice, of vigorous want and living vice; and on the other, the mass of money, dead, and helpless, and defenceless,

and only potent in stimulating the rapacity of famine. And then will come the end.

But the Christian will recognise in property a trust, to be administered for the good of others—a power of government, for which the possessor is responsible to God. He will think of its duties rather than of its rights. He will regard it, and teach others to regard it, as a school for those faculties and virtues which are to be exercised on a larger scale in the State; and as a means, not of personal enjoyment, but of communicating with and influencing our fellow-creatures, either for good or evil, life or death. From this will flow that caution against encouraging vice by a licentious expenditure; that attention to accompany employment with moral and religious guidance; that benevolence and charity; that abstinence from avaricious accumulation; that willing devotion to God of the due proportions of wealth; those habits of personal intercourse and direction in regard to dependents; that interest in the well-being of the poor; that simplicity and self-denial in our own habits of life; that freedom from ostentation and vanity,—which alone can prevent the circulation, and accumulation, and even the possession of money from becoming a curse and a torment; the nurturer of all the sins of self-indulgence in the rich, and of violence in the poor—inflaming and stimulating in the former all the craving of selfish lust, and in the other the blind passions of rage, jealousy, and malice; and thus ripening, as in a hot-bed, both the vices of the moral nature of man, and setting one portion of it against the other, to tear each other to pieces, and with them man and society itself.

And, by the same principle, the poor themselves will learn to regard wealth, not as a good reserved for any one class, or a prize set up for the contentions

of human covetousness, but as an official trust, of which God Himself disposes; for the abuse of which man is responsible to Him; which involves toil, and weariness, and anxiety, as well as enjoyment; and which they will no more think of grudging to those to whom God has given it, much less of seizing it by any rapacity of their own, than of rebelling against the Sovereign whom God has set over them.

But, on the same principle, a Christian will not fail to recognise another external mark of the Divine appointment of the members of the State. And finding the two combined in nature, he will carefully combine them in his own practice. It is one of the most remarkable attributes of God's moral government, that it deals with men not only as individuals, but in families; and in families, not of one generation only, but of many. To that all-seeing Eye, to which there may be no time or succession, or division of past and future, cause and effect, human nature, though scattered to our sight in a multitude of distinct persons, seems to be gathered up, as it were, and exhibited in perfection, only in a continuous series of distinct existences. As if the different stages in the growth of the individual man could be marked and counted, and yet all together made up but one life, and one responsible person; so the family seems to be regarded by God as one being, having its several stages of growth in successive generations, and with its fate not decided until it reaches a certain maturity. "The Lord our God is a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Him; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love Him, and keep His commandments."¹ And this is so essential

¹ Exod. xx. 5.

an attribute, that it is proclaimed as a fundamental article of the Creed revealed to Moses by the mouth of God Himself. "And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and fourth generation."¹ Thus Abraham was to be blessed in his seed.² Thus the man that gave his seed to Moloch was to be cursed, he and his family.³ Thus the rebellious Jews were to pine away, in their iniquity, in their enemies' lands—"in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them."⁴ Thus evil is brought not only against Ahab, but his posterity.⁵ Thus David was punished by the death of his child. And the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are, in their whole course, a remarkable illustration of the same law. "I have seen the foolish," says Job, "taking root, but suddenly I cursed his habitation. His children are far from safety, and they are crushed in the gate; neither is there any to deliver them."⁶ "Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in His ways. . . . Thou shalt see thy children's children, and peace upon Israel."⁷ "Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places. . . . Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out. Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the Lord, and let not the sin of his

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 6.² Gen. xxii. 18.³ Lev. xx. 5.⁴ Lev. xxvi. 39.⁵ 1 Kings xxi. 21.⁶ Job v. 3.⁷ Psalm cxxviii. 6.

mother be blotted out.”¹ “I have been young, and now am old, and yet never saw I the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.”

But it is needless to multiply passages, or to trace out the wonderful analogy between this law of moral retribution and the whole of that Divine system, in which, as “by one man’s offence, death reigned by one, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life;”² and in which that free gift is bestowed by the same act which begets us unto God in Christ as little children—even by the laver of regeneration.

Nor will I stop to remark, how this law of continuity in the family repeats the same phenomenon which has been so frequently insisted on,—the union of many distinct persons in one substance. Distinctness and plurality of generations, held together in the unity of family life, make up the chain of human existence. And the more perfectly both characteristics are preserved, the more complete is the development of mankind.

It is more practical to observe, that it is supported by two universal, overruling instincts in the human heart; so powerful, that no conventional system can suppress them, or prevent them from ultimately severing society into two classes by a natural operation; with which the organisation suggested by the revealed attributes of the Divine Being exactly coincides. One of these instincts is parental love, by which the parent sees himself in the child, and endeavours to perpetuate his own existence by preserving to the child his own possessions. Or, to leave this theory of selfishness to the lower classes of mankind, it is that instinct by which the

¹ Psalm cix. 9.

² Rom. v. 16.

parent fixes his affection not on himself, but on his child, as the natural object of his care, and endeavours with equal zeal to secure to it all the good within his reach, without any thought of self. Whatever be the working of the instinct, it tends to the same result of hereditary succession. And with this coincides the other instinct of filial love, by which, whether in gratitude or in selfishness, the child also sees himself in his parent, prides himself on the virtues and superiority of his ancestors, derives to himself a portion of their excellence, and is recognised by others as ennobled by their nobility. No act can crush this feeling. And no convention or philosophy could prevent the child of a king or a sage from being regarded by mankind at large with more respect and interest than the son of unhonoured parents.

Such will be the Christian's view of the doctrine of hereditary succession. And he will carefully retain it in combination with the principle of property. He finds it thus combined in Revelation. He gives scope, in this manner, for the development of the justice of Providence in the dispensation of temporal goods, even upon earth,—a development which seems to require time, and a certain length of action and trial. A good family will flourish and prosper; if not in one generation, at least ultimately. A bad family will be impoverished and extinguished; if not in the person of its founder, at least in that of his descendants. And thus, by selecting families, and not individuals, we may learn, far more correctly, who are the favoured of God, and who bear an external mark and impress of authority set on them by Himself. For this external mark is not the mere momentary possession, but the perpetuation of property: just as the proof of virtue is not the single act, but the confirmed habit. Wealth is, in a re-

markable manner, tost about, broken into shifting masses, carried along and deposited in various forms and places, by a succession of currents, seemingly at random, but really under the direction of Providence. And it is not, when in motion and transition, that we can judge of its providential destination, any more than we can estimate the riches of a gambler at any one moment of his game. We must observe where it rests and fixes; just as, to decide when the struggle must cease between a legitimate sovereign and a usurper, and when the usurper becomes entitled to our obedience, as under a divine dispensation, we must wait till his authority is confirmed by time, and all opposition has been crushed. Power and honour must go hand in hand. They cannot be separated. And wealth is power. But to invest temporary wealth with honour,—to give rank to a fortunate adventurer, or a commercial speculator of the day,—would be as idle as to bow down before a king upon the stage, who, the next moment, will be stripped of his robes, and appear as a beggar. And to withdraw honour from its possessor when under some temporary visitation of poverty, would be as unjust and shortsighted as to despise a saint for a single fault.

“There be just men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked: again, there be wicked men to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous.”¹ And yet, “though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God; but it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow.”²

Families, then, are the constituent elements of

¹ Eccles. viii. 14.

² ver. 12.

political society. From good families, the State, therefore, must be formed. But good families (as the popular usage of the term implies) are families which have endured in power for several generations. God Himself has set upon them this mark of His approval, or at least of His destination for the office; and therefore the Christian politician will form the chief division of his laity by the principle of hereditary property, and especially property in land.

And before we pass on to inquire how this law may and must be corrected by an antagonist principle, that it may not generate a system of castes and exclusions, let us observe, as in so many other instances, how the positive law of Revelation, and the instincts of nature, however seemingly paradoxical, lead us to the very objects which the most enlarged views of expediency would endeavour to attain. We desire that those only should possess power who also possess goodness and wisdom to prevent its abuses. But this exclusive selection is not possible. The tares must be mingled with the wheat. We must, therefore, be content to see those invested with authority and honour who are most likely to deserve it. Probability is all that we can attain. We cannot discern those who will certainly profit by favourable circumstances of education; but we can discern who have been placed in those circumstances, and select these as members of the State. This is all (if we may so speak reverently) which the Divine Being Himself attempts in the formation of His Church. He does not select for it only the good, only those who will certainly profit by the blessings and privileges of their baptismal covenant. But He brings within it all classes; and of these He forms His kingdom upon earth, as distinct from the heathen nations over whom it is designed to rule.

And what, then, are these favourable circum-

stances for the implantation and development of excellence?

Here, also, the Christian is not left without a remarkable analogy in the positive institutions of God. God Himself has commanded that those who are to be reared to form the stones of His spiritual temple, and to be entrusted with His most glorious privileges and functions, shall be reared under a system which invests them from their infancy with nobility and honour—reared as His heirs and children. He ennobles them, not for any acts or worth of their own, but wholly for the merits of another, their great Progenitor. He commands them to make this derived nobility the motive and rule of their actions. He stimulates them to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called, as already crucified, and dead, and buried, and risen, in Christ their Lord, by the baptism into His spirit; as delivered already from the power of darkness, and translated, by His own free gift and unmerited grace, into the kingdom of His dear Son;¹ as men whose conversation is in heaven;² or—to draw forth the analogy more strikingly—who are already members of the body politic or state in heaven, *ὧν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει*. Upon this remembrance of gifts already given, eminence already attained, privileges already inherited, is based the whole superstructure of Christian virtues. But it is essentially connected with the denial of any personal merit of our own. And upon the same two principles we may rest the doctrine of hereditary succession, as a discipline for the virtues of the citizen. It is right that they who are to be entrusted with great offices should be accustomed, from their earliest childhood, to a certain dignity and honour. They thus become familiarised to its

¹ Col. i. 13.

² Phil. iii. 20.

enjoyment. They learn to value it at its due worth. It ceases to be the toy and rattle for full-grown children, which so often breeds frivolity and pettiness in its first possessors. It loses the fascination which would tempt to unworthy sacrifices for its attainment. It generates no contempt for others; since what we undisturbedly possess, we cease to pride ourselves upon as an exclusive badge of superiority. It elevates a standard of conduct which demands the highest exertions; and it consecrates that standard by connecting it with domestic affections and associations. It inspires pride, a noble and generous pride, without which there can be no energy, no shame, no lofty aspirations, no enlarged benevolence; while it extinguishes that personal vanity and conceit which is a source of all that is mean and enervating. It generates no jealousies and rivalries, no malice or suspicion, no anxious timid questioning calculations of success, which embarrass and distract a struggle for contingent advantages. Without self-respect there can be little attempt to deserve the respect of others. And without previous respect from others there can be little respect for ourselves. Respect, therefore, for external goods must precede the formation of respect for personal merit. And this is the universal law of God's dealings with man. He gives, and commands us to preserve; not offers, and tempts us to attain. Thus, at His bidding, we plant in the mind of the child the whole summary of Christian truth, which afterwards the child does but develop. Thus we supply him with the most general principles of morals in the form of the ten commandments, that he may apply them subsequently in practice. Thus language was not wrought out of inarticulate sounds, nor religion out of atheism, nor morals out of calculations of prudence, nor science out of experiment, nor society out of barbarism; but

language was first given supernaturally, and then enlarged by man; religion was first revealed, and then revelation was confirmed by reason; virtue was made a duty by positive command, and was then found to correspond with conscience and to be identical with wisdom; science was evolved from the primary principles of reason, and experiment was then applied to illustrate them; and society was established by God, and barbarism poured in upon it only when that establishment was overturned by man. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* Nothing can be generated out of nothing. "To him that hath shall be given; and from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath."¹

And we may thus reconcile two parables which seem to indicate opposite principles in the dealings of Providence. It is true that authority and power are to be distributed according to our works. He that gains ten talents is to be placed over ten cities, and he that gains five over five.² But it is also true that the labourers in the vineyard, they that were hired at the eleventh hour, and they who have borne the burden and heat of the day, may both receive their penny, without any infringement of justice. All the apparent advantages which one man may possess over another, without having purchased them by toil, is a free gift from God, "who does what He wills with His own." He dispenses His talents as He chooses: to some ten, to others five, to others one. But when the distribution has been made, He will reward according to the use which has been made of them.

¹ Luke xix. 26.

² Luke xix. 12.

CHAPTER XXI.

BUT while Providence thus binds up families together, involving the individual in the fortunes and characters of his progenitors, so that houses and not individuals form the elementary atoms of Society; and by houses, rather than by individuals, should be distributed the fundamental distinctions of its ranks; still here, as in so many other instances, there is an antagonist principle, which is equally to be kept in view. The individual is not lost in the family, though he is involved in it: he still retains his own unity — his personal responsibility — his distinct faculties. And, though it is hard to trace the way in which the Divine Justice reconciles the seeming contradiction, we know that it is reconciled. "The fathers may have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth be set on edge."¹ And yet "the soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."² Once more the same problem meets us, of unity in plurality, and of plurality in unity; of the individual and the society. And if either element be absorbed and lost in the other, we may be assured that we are running into error.

And, in strict analogy with that dispensation of free grace, which wills that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth —

¹ Ezek. xviii. 2.² Ezek. xviii. 20.

and with that dispensation of Nature, which maketh "the sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust;"¹ and with that covenant of our blessed Lord, which is no respecter of persons,² which hath broken down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, "for to make in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace;"³ and in which there is no more "Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, for all are one in Christ Jesus;"⁴—in strict analogy with this system of equalisation, and indifference to external circumstances, the faculties and virtues which fit men for offices of government are sown and scattered, almost, as it might seem, at random, over the whole face of society. Jewels which might form the crown of kings lie hid in caverns of the sea; and blossoms which might perfume a palace "waste themselves on the desert air." It is this irrespectiveness of rank and birth which constitutes in Christianity that element of equality which has so frequently been perverted into a democratical spirit, even under the gospel; and which, in political society, gives truth and justice to the claims of the poorest peasant to stand upon a level with nobles. Wherever it is not felt and acknowledged, there a great element of strength and wisdom is deficient, whether in the religious or the political system. But it must be taken always as balanced and corrected by its antagonist principle of hereditary and family rank.

To preserve it and give it scope is as necessary for the maintenance of an hereditary nobility, as for the due elevation of the inferior classes; for if virtues and talents are scattered among the people beyond the pale of any caste, or exclusive body of

¹ Matt. v. 45.

² Acts x. 34.

³ Ephes. ii. 15.

⁴ Galat. iii. 28.

hereditary rank, in the same manner vices and follies are scattered within that pale; and unless fresh life-blood be poured into it from time to time, its ranks recruited, and its character supported by new supplies of goodness, with an effete and despised nobility will soon fall the whole fabric of the State. As the bees, those wisest of political artisans, would cut out the old rotten combs from day to day, and replace them with fresh; so man must do the same. But it is chiefly necessary because one great object of society is to nurse and invigorate every spring of goodness throughout the whole body of the nation—to multiply virtues—to enlarge faculties—to discipline souls—wherever they exist within its reach. This earth is a vast quarry, and in it the hand of Providence is hewing out stones, which are hereafter to be fitted together, “without sound of hammer or axe, or any tool of iron,”¹ in another world. And external earthly circumstances are no sure criterion by which to judge of the value of these stones, or of the place which they are to occupy hereafter, since that “may be rejected by human builders which God has destined to become the head stone of the corner.”

Or, to take another analogy—a cultivator will, indeed, be bound to set apart his fields for regular crops, and to fix those crops in certain successions; and yet he must watch the changes of the seasons, and take advantage of peculiarities of soil, and prepare to foster and encourage every healthy seed which springs up of its own accord even by the way-side or on the neglected common. They indicate a secret power of growth and fertility—they may prove treasures of wealth if duly cultivated.

¹ 1 Kings vi. 7.

What, then, are the arrangements of society best calculated to give scope and expansion to these wide-scattered seeds of good, which are strewn promiscuously over its surface? The first is—a careful provision for the sound organisation, the free expansion, and the healthy atmosphere of the family throughout every rank of society. Wherever the family is rightly formed and constituted, there is a nursery for all those talents and excellences which may be employed by the State in its own service, and must be required by the Church in the kingdom of heaven. The sphere is smaller, the occupations different; but the habits nurtured in them may be the same. This is one of the main links between the Christian restoration of the female character to its right elevation, and that due development of the principles of equality and liberty which forms the chief distinction between the empires of Heathenism and of Christianity. The home acquires by it purity and dignity; it becomes a safe and happy shelter and repose for private life; the affections are fostered and developed in it; the heart is able to rest in it, and thus becomes independent of the larger interests and occupations of the State. And with this sense of independence arises a manliness and freedom of thought, which pervades the whole character and temper. Few minds, as a general principle, can be safely entrusted with political affairs but those which can find their happiness independently of them; others will embark in them too vehemently, with too much of private and personal ambition, with that restless excitement which threw the Athenian the whole day into the market asking for news. He who would govern well must be unwilling to govern; and he who would maintain his freedom must not be desirous of power.

Secondly, the functions and offices of the State

should be ramified and extended through all ranks, down to the very lowest. Without framing too complicated a system, or introducing any element of discord or counteraction, every citizen, as far as possible, should be made to take a part in the machinery of government. A village-constable may possess and exercise talents which may fit him for the command of an army; a juryman may develop the faculties required in the judge; the assessor of a parish rate may exhibit honesty and ingenuity worthy of a president of finance; even the village-school is a little world, and the master sits there as a sovereign, and rules with the rod, as kings administer justice with the sword. And thus, from the narrowest spheres of action may be drawn forth minds prepared to act in the largest; and even if they live and die without any extension of their earthly duties, they are fitted by their own internal habits for that vaster range which will be opened to them hereafter.

Thirdly, it is necessary that no rigid impassable barrier should be raised between ranks and classes. There must be no castes. It is in the principle of castes that the chief viciousness of slavery consists. That beings in the form of men, but sunk by their own faults to the state of brutes, should be placed under severe restraint, should be compelled to labour against their wills, should be even thrown into chains, should be deprived of all power, and subjected to the stern control of others; this is but a necessary provision for the safety of society, and an execution of the justice of Nature; else why have we prisons and treadmills? That beings weak and helpless should also be made dependent on those who are strong and wise — that they should not be thrown upon their own free will, which can only lead them into ruin — that they should be

placed under such a coercion as may restrain them from evil, and under such subjection to others as may bind their own interests permanently to the interests of their masters ; this, also, is not cruelty and injustice, but the same merciful provision which places the infant in the cradle at the mercy and disposal of its parent, without will or voice of its own.

But that lines and barriers of birth should be so rigidly drawn as to prevent the seeds of good which God has sown in the hearts of all men from springing up and bearing fruit ; to condemn for ever to impotency and ignominy souls as capable of energy and nobility as that of the king upon the throne ; to freeze and petrify the free atmosphere of society, so that the purer and healthier elements which are found even nearest the earth cannot find a passage and rise up to their natural elevation above it ; this is to reverse the law of Nature, and to extinguish in the human heart that expansive and aspiring spark of hope, which, duly nurtured, is the life of a noble and holy ambition, as it is the antiseptic principle provided against the decay and corruption of all human things.

It is no essential evil to be born a slave, for Nature has made us all slaves at our birth. No slavery can be conceived more complete than that of an infant, dependent for food, for clothing, for ideas, for life, for motion, for every thing, upon the will of another ; and compelled in every act to abandon its own will, without understanding the reasonableness, or feeling the enjoyment of the course prescribed for it. Yet in this very subjection lies its discipline for good, and the security for its happiness. But to have no power of becoming free, no opening to escape from its prison, no vent for that spring of power which struggles within it to the last, and cannot be para-

lysed—this is real slavery, real misery, real iniquity in those who create such a system.

Children, therefore, are trained to assume by degrees a fitting and manly independence; and those whom weakness, or even folly and vice, have placed at the disposal of their fellow-creatures, should be watched over and nurtured as beings capable of recovery, and the means of manumission in due time should be placed within their reach. And so with the poorest peasant; he should be invested with self-respect, with capability of exertion, with encouragements to an honourable ambition, with worldly means, with something of a superfluity—something beyond that minimum of subsistence which is wholly absorbed in the support of the animal, and nurtures nothing but the animal; that, if it should so please Providence, he may, by honest industry, accumulate the means of raising his position in society. Wherever the poor are reduced to a minimum of subsistence, this advance is wholly impossible; and wherever gambling speculations and mere commercial covetousness prevail, there wages must be lowered to this point; and with so-called freedom of trade and liberty in government we insure the slavery—the most abject and hopeless slavery—of the great bulk of the population, even as we are now doing in this country.

What is true of the poor is true also of all classes of the commonalty. To all alike should be open means and opportunities of elevating themselves in the social scale. There should be a power of conferring permanent nobility on those who distinguish themselves as individuals; yet not without a due attention to antiquity of family, and the permanent possession of hereditary property in land. There should be honourable professions open to all, in which personal worth may be exhibited and tried,

and the foundation laid for new houses, to become hereafter the materials for recruiting an exhausted nobility. As this progression mainly depends upon a power of accumulating wealth, and this accumulation upon the possession of a superfluity—(we need not pause at present to shew how this principle must be corrected, that it may not sink into covetousness)—a wise politician will check all those habits of expense and vulgar rivalry which induce families to live up to the full extent of their income, or even beyond it. As no accumulation can be safe or profitable which is not the result and the indication of that patience, frugality, self-denial, integrity, and Christian liberality, without which the possession of wealth is only a snare and a curse, he will also discourage all habits of speculation and gambling; all modes of obtaining wealth by extortion, by oppression, by chance, by mean and paltry gains, by the encouragement of vice, by ministering to luxury, by fraud, by miserly habits. It is not possible to prevent the growth of wealth in some hands more than others. It is not wise to endeavour to suppress such a field and discipline for some of men's greatest virtues. It is equally impossible to prevent wealth from representing and conferring power; or power from assuming an authority in the affairs of State. But it is possible to distinguish between wealth honourably and legitimately acquired, and unhallowed hoards of rapacity and fraud.

CHAPTER XXII.

AND let us pause here to venture a few suggestions ; little, I fear, in harmony with prevailing notions of the day.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable features in the organisation of society in this country is the constitution of the great professions of the law, the navy, the army, the medical profession, the great mercantile businesses, the official departments of the Government, and the Church ; placed as they are between an hereditary nobility and landed gentry, and the great body of the lower classes. They act as organs of secretion, constantly absorbing into them large portions of the inferior orders, and gradually transmitting them into the higher ranks. They effect this quietly and insensibly ; animating and invigorating the energy of the very poorest citizen by prospects of honourable advancement, and by so much consciousness of equality with the nobles as is contained in the possibility of being equalled ; and at the same time feeding the permanent aristocracy with fresh supplies of personal merit, and preserving a balance and evenness of temperature, and freedom of circulation, in the whole atmosphere of society. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of this constitution, or the importance of these middle classes, considered in this point of view. In them lies the practical exemplification and working of the freedom of the British Constitution ; because through them the poorest-born may, by habits of industry and honesty, rise,

or see his children rise, to the highest position in the state, and become founders of a noble family. And this is a freedom which is not a fallacy and a snare. It is not freedom to live without law, or to be governed by our own caprices: no tyranny can be more terrible. But it is freedom, honourable freedom, freedom encouraged and sanctioned by God Himself, not to be shackled and impeded by man in those honourable exertions which would develop and exercise our faculties in as wide a sphere as Providence may permit us to occupy.

But there are certain cautions to be observed in the regulation of these great professions, and certain errors now prevalent.

Is not this one,—that the profession of the clergy is to be admitted as one of these organs for enabling the lower orders to penetrate permanently and to establish themselves among the higher ranks? Amongst the various defences of an Established Church, few have been more frequently and boldly put forward by its political supporters than this. And, in one sense, indeed, the Church is the great organ for this purpose. Perhaps it is, ultimately speaking, the only organ; because, without the spirit which it diffuses, and the lessons which it inculcates, no advancement in external prosperity can be safe or good. And it is also true, that no profession can or ought to absorb so large a proportion of the poor, or can so easily transmute them into an aristocracy of mind. Practically the Church in England has thus acted for years. But it is one thing to infuse that Christian spirit of gentleness, courtesy, self-respect, reverence, and love, which forms the true temper of a gentleman—to infuse this into the son of the poorest peasant—to draw daily from the village-school children, who, by their talent and goodness, may hereafter be placed as rulers over the Church; and

practically in this manner to equalise the disproportions, and to soften the differences of society;—and it is another thing to contemplate the station of the clergyman as a stepping-stone of rank—as an advancement in worldly aggrandisement—as an opportunity of founding a family. What such a view becomes, when adopted on a large scale, is seen in the effect of nepotism in the Romish Church, or even in those instances among ourselves—rare, indeed, and visited by general reprobation—where large fortunes have been accumulated, and families founded, upon the revenues of bishoprics. But on a smaller scale, and with consequences less glaring, yet more mischievous, the principle, it is to be feared, is operating throughout the English Church, impoverishing its resources, debasing its purity, paralysing its energies, and detaching from it the affections and respect both of the rich above and of the poor beneath. A Church to command those affections must itself be poor—not poor in its command of wealth, but poor in the appropriation of its wealth to its individual clergy. Its property is the property of the poor; and all which beyond a necessary maintenance—a maintenance of the simplest kind—is abstracted for the support of a family, is withdrawn from its right destination. But this is not the place to enter on the social organisation of the clergy, and the right principles of their maintenance.

There is another disposition prevalent,—to bring these great professions too closely into contact with both the higher and lower classes. It is often lamented that the education required for them is so expensive, that the poor are necessarily excluded from the chance of entering them; and, on the other hand, individuals who have become eminent in them are frequently ennobled, without either a due provision of property to support a family in its new rank,

or those habits and associations which would become it. But every advance in society should be slow and gradual. It cannot be safe, as a general principle, to admit any rapid elevation. What is said by the wise man of them "that trust to their hands"—the carpenter, the smith, and the potter—will be true, for the most part, of their children. One generation is imbued with the spirit of the other. The child, to a very great extent, inherits the disposition of the parents; and, to use an ordinary expression, "there is much in blood." Without them, indeed, "cannot a city be inhabited; but they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down. They shall not be sought for in public counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judge's seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment; they cannot declare justice and judgment, and they shall not be found where parables are spoken."¹ There are, indeed, rare exceptions, when the child of the peasant may be safely raised to a profession far above his father's craft; or one who is distinguished in a profession be placed among nobles. But, for the most part, it is wiser to allow the family to grow by slow advances, and to evolve each grade of society from that which is immediately beneath it. The chance of incongruity is thus diminished, the dislocation of family connexions is avoided, and the mind is prepared and matured without any sudden shock, which few have the strength to withstand. Peerages for life may be granted to great lawyers and victorious generals; but hereditary peerages should be confined to families already established, and accustomed to habits of command, and to the enjoyment of dignity.

Once more. If these great professions are the fit organs for elevating all that is capable of elevation in

¹ Eccclus. xxxviii. 32.

the lower classes, and giving scope for the development of individual excellence, as distinct from permanent family rank, how ought they not to be regarded and dealt with as schools of a noble discipline ! How ought even their lowest grades to be pervaded with a high spirit, and their whole system of instruction and practice to be placed under the control of the soundest philosophy and the purest religion ! Would it not well become a wise politician to provide some better system than is now prevalent for the education of medical students, especially in the lower departments of the profession ? Should not the inferior branches of the law be elevated by some more stringent superintendence from the higher branches, so that they should no longer be identified in popular opinion with low chicanery and cunning ? Might not even the army and the navy be formed into admirable schools and nurseries even for the common soldiers, and a connexion be established between them and civil offices of a higher grade, so as to allow the brave, the sober, and the honest, an opportunity of establishing himself in an advanced position, instead of treating him as a mere machine, to be cast off and left without a hope as soon as he becomes incapacitated for service ? These are questions of practice and detail ; but they enter prominently into consideration when we look upon society itself, not as an accidental arrangement for the preservation of individual interests, but as a grand nurse and parent of all virtues and all happiness in its subjects.

One more suggestion may be made. With all the importance duly attached to liberal professions, and the necessity of elevating and purifying them by every means in our power, they are still not to be regarded, as some are now disposed to regard them, as the spring and moving power in the State.

Practically, indeed, at this time in England it is so. Their numbers and their wealth have so swelled; the weight given to our towns in the elective franchise so far preponderates; the internal affairs of the country have become so involved by a system of credit, and by the multiplication of laws; and the Church, till within a few years, had so retired from the lead and control of public opinion,—that the middle classes have drawn into their hands a very large proportion of the power of government. The election of the House of Commons is to a considerable extent, either directly or indirectly, within their hands. And as a body of check, of balance, of conservation, their functions are most valuable. But woe be to that country which can look no higher for the maintenance of its principles, and the lead in its conduct. Burke, that greatest of modern statesmen, foresaw from the beginning of the French Revolution this fatal mistake in its policy, and prophesied its results.

There are many reasons why the liberal professions, however honourable, are not the fittest school for minds designed to take the lead in the government of nations.

They are, in the first place, regarded as means of elevation and advancement. And man cannot be emptied of his selfishness—cannot be emancipated from the restraints of timidity and worldly calculation—cannot be nerved to uphold truth and right through all risks, when he is beset with the temptations of personal aggrandisement.

Secondly, those who engage in them have rarely been born in the situations to which they aspire. They are climbing a ladder; and to have been originally stationed at the bottom is no good discipline for maintaining steadily a position at the summit. They who are to exercise power well should be accustomed to it from childhood. “Even from the

flower till the grape was ripe," says the wise son of Sirach, "hath my foot delighted in wisdom." "When I was yet young, or ever I went abroad,"—"I have had my heart joined with her from the beginning, therefore shall I not be forsaken."

Thirdly, they are practical professions. They engage the mind in details; in particular applications; in the interests of individuals; in the contingencies of life. And though they thus foster habits of prudence and experience, they tend to withdraw attention from the great and high abstractions of general truth which constitute wisdom, and without which practice must sink into empiricism, and nations be made the prey of experiment and conjecture.

Fourthly, they do not command that faith and reverence from the people which is paid instinctively to hereditary rank. And their habits are not such as to procure it, without risking obloquy and envy. External splendour, a spirit of command, that confidence in self which is required to ensure confidence from others, the assumption of authority, without which obedience will rarely be paid,—these things in men not born to rank, and whose position in society depends upon their personal labours, are regarded with jealousy, and even with contempt. And they can scarcely be attempted without risking some incongruity or vulgarity, which betrays that they are not natural.

And other reasons might be added. But these may be sufficient to suggest, that while the middle classes and liberal professions of a nation form one of its greatest safeguards against oppression; one of its strongest guarantees for the general welfare of the people; one of its best witnesses and advisers

¹ Eccclus. li. 13.

in practical questions of expediency ; a safe diffuser of real liberty ; a steady ballast in the vessel of the State ; yet the rulers and leaders of the State must be sought among minds withdrawn from the bustle of life and from the perplexities of its details, familiarised from their childhood to command, possessed by birth of high and noble instincts, and by character of the grand element of abstract wisdom ; in one word, among the nobility and the Church.

And it is upon this same principle that the wise political philosopher, in constructing his arrangements for the nurture and education of the great body of the people, as distinguished from the hereditary nobility, would make it, if possible, a fundamental condition that all, without exception, should be brought up in the bosom of the Church, as baptised Christians ; and as entitled by their baptism to all its privileges, as ‘ children of God, members of Christ, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.’ This is the best nursery, after all, for minds which may be required to take a share in the government of empires, though not originally called to it by the worldly position of their parents. An inherited spiritual nobility, greater and more glorious than that of any earthly monarch, will well supply the place, and more than infuse the elevated spirit, of a temporal birthright. The spiritual union of the Christian in one mysterious body with his blessed Lord will give that social principle,—that attachment to a class,—that sober and tempered exclusiveness,—that consciousness of joint power,—that pride in the possession of high privileges, corporate and not personal,—that desire to exercise power for the benefit of others less favoured by nature than ourselves, which are the natural growth of an elevated corporate character ; and which only become vanity and selfishness when the line of exclusion is

drawn arbitrarily by ourselves, not fixed irrevocably by the hand of nature without merit of our own. And to be inheritors of a spiritual kingdom, when faith has realised the promise, may well inspire a more earnest desire than any earthly birthright to prepare for the discharge of its duties by self-command, by energy, by patience, by devotedness and love; in one word, by all the same habits which are required in the rulers of this world to fit them for their task of government.

And whether minds thus trained are called or not to execute any temporal functions, it then will matter little. With this Christian discipline and Christian nobility, or rather royalty, conferred upon the meanest peasant, they need no other school. What the great philosophers of heathenism required as an essential condition for the right formation, or rather for the salvation, of the soul—that it should be made a member of a glorious city, be imbued from infancy with all the great forms of truth, be inspired with a deep sense of its own nobility, be admitted to high functions in the government of the polity,—this, without which they deemed it impossible for the human mind to attain its full stature and perfection, but which, with them, could only be enjoyed by the rich and the noble, is now within the reach of the beggar. “To the poor the gospel is preached.” What shall we think of Christian statesmen who would lay the foundations of their political constitution in an hereditary peerage,—lay them in it wisely and truly,—yet forget that hereditary nobility of Christianity which they may diffuse among the poorest classes, and spread over the whole nation? What shall we think of a religious system, which, acknowledging Christianity to contain in it the great antiseptic principle to national corruption, and endeavouring to diffuse and promote it for the preser-

vation of the State, yet forgets or undervalues, as a mere dogma or speculative question, the privileges of the baptismal covenant, the practice of infant baptism, and the truth of baptismal regeneration? Who shall say that there is no connexion between such doctrines of revealed truth and the constitution of States? between a revival of the old principles of the Catholic Church and a restoration of the true system of the monarchy?

CHAPTER XXIII.

WE have now reached two elementary divisions in the constitution of the State; one a permanent hereditary aristocracy, and the other a fluctuating body of personal and individual excellence, evolving itself promiscuously and precariously from the great mass of society through the agency of the liberal professions. And where the nation is large, and the State, in order to perform its most important functions of legislation, must be condensed into a small space, there we must provide a representation of these two elements in the form of a national council. This is the true origin of parliaments. And in this country the two elements are adequately exhibited in the Houses of Lords and Commons. But there are several important questions which here meet us.

In the first place, these elements are distinct; they are almost antagonistic to each other. One is impressed with the character of stability, repose, exclusiveness, dread of innovation, adherence to prescription. It is bent more on the honourable than on the useful; is an assertor of general principles; is arrogant perhaps, yet not without virtue and benevolence in its pride; contemptuous of mere money, and of occupations connected with gain; a favourer of agriculture, as linked with the possession of land, and this with territorial jurisdiction; jealous of the Church, when the Church would rival its own temporal prerogatives, yet attached to it as a supporter of order, and as inspired with a spirit analogous to its own. It maintains the monarchy, not merely as

an expedient political arrangement, but as involving its own principle of hereditary ranks; and still more from that habitual reverence for others which is nurtured in those who are objects of reverence themselves. And its feeling towards the classes beneath them, if mixed with jealousy and disdain of the more aspiring and presuming, is chastened into liberality and benevolence towards their dependants and the poor.

The other element is full of activity. It is enterprising, bold, sanguine, fond of advancement and change, slighting antiquity, contemning forms and positive institutions, measuring distinction by personal excellence, hasty in its plans, prone to speculation, vague and diffusive in its benevolence, devoted to the acquirement of wealth, attached more to the monied than to the agricultural interest, a schemer in education, incapable of understanding the importance of religious establishments, confounding positive creeds with philosophical dogmas, the advocate of opinion as opposed to traditional revelation, a clamourer for liberty in doctrine as in trade, a foe to all the ceremonials of society, an opponent of every thing which is not simple, uniform, centralised, perspicuous, and unbalanced.

These two distinct characters are the natural result of circumstances. One body is located and guaranteed in the possession of privileges from their birth; the other is engaged in the pursuit of them. One has to maintain, the other to acquire. And when brought together into the one body of the State, how are they to be harmonised?

Once more we must recur to the fundamental law of nature, unity in plurality, and plurality in unity. Separate the two elements entirely, and you place them in constant and direct collision; in which the more active energetic element must finally pre-

vail over the more quiet and more weak. A House of Commons which should be created solely out of the popular element, must, in a very short time, triumph over a House of Lords which had no strength but that of hereditary rank. On the other hand, attempt to fuse them together in one chamber, and they would soon separate themselves again. And the conflict would only be postponed, and become more fierce, because it would be carried on within the same walls. It remains that they should be kept apart in two distinct bodies, and yet should be blended together by a certain infusion into each of the predominant spirit of the other. Passages should be opened from the Commons into the Lords. Some recognition of hereditary rank and hereditary property should be made in the Commons; some of the stirring, enterprising qualities of popular advancement be communicated to the Lords. And, without the walls of parliament, there should be great landed hereditary proprietors, and an inferior order of nobility, created and recruited at intervals from the great body of the commonalty, who may form a connecting link between the two classes, partaking of the character of each, and thus able to break and soften the collisions which must take place between them. That is the best arrangement of parts in which the eye recognises, at once, an essential distinction and separation between the two extremes; and yet passes from one to the other, through so many imperceptible shades, sliding into each other by degrees, that it can scarcely mark a line of severance; but owns that they are many, yet one, and one, yet many. Nor is the preservation of this distinction and antagonism without its importance both to the monarch and the lower orders.

It is necessary, in the first place, to provide an ally and support to the monarch against the superior

strength of the State itself. The monarch must be weak, must be powerless, without the assistance of the State ; and therefore the State can, at any time, overrule and even destroy him, as the Roman senate destroyed their kings. When, indeed, a king is supported by an independent Church, of which the Roman kings were destitute, the spiritual and moral influence of that Church will be of a certain avail in maintaining obedience and loyalty, and in compressing, by an internal law of conscience, the aggressions of the State. But, in human affairs, we must not trust to moral influence alone. A machinery must be provided to enforce where we cannot persuade. Churches are, indeed, the first thing to be built in a land ; but, by their side, we must build prisons. And clergy are the best preachers of obedience ; yet we cannot dispense with armies and police. And, odious as the principle may sound, of dividing in order to rule, it is necessary in the organisation of the State. The Nobles and the Commons—the popular principle and the aristocratical—must be placed in some degree of collision and counterpoise against each other, that the whole body may not, by its joint force, overpower the Monarch. Two elements cannot be harmonised, cannot be held in union, except by a third. Triplicity is the primary law of all repose. It is the type of all organisation, the form and idea of beauty. And the Christian knows, from the first, that so it must be, because it is the form and idea of that great Being who created and organised the world.

And thus the internal history of European kingdoms has been, for the most part, a series of manœuvres, in which the Monarch strove to secure and aggrandise his own authority by holding the balance between the people and the nobility,—now creating a popular interest by municipal corporations and

commercial bodies,—now throwing himself on his aristocracy to defend him against the aggressions of his commons ; and thus, from time to time, blending himself with each, and, by his supreme informing power, giving strength and development to their respective systems, according as either required support, and could render it again to himself. .

But here recurs again the question relating to the composition of that portion of the State which is not hereditary. By whom are its members to be selected ? Shall the body be evolved from the monarch or from the people—from one extremity or the other ? If wholly from the monarch—if the monarch may choose his advisers, his officers, his ministers, his controllers (for so far as power of negation extends, the State must control the king), advice and control become nugatory. If the people possess this privilege, and the representative system, as it is generally understood, be thoroughly carried out, then the people become the source of power, and the monarchy is swallowed up. Once more we are met by two contending principles ; and how are they to be reconciled ? Not by excluding either, but by retaining both. From the king must the State be evolved ; he is the source of all power, the fountain of honour, the germ of the social tree ; and from him practically and historically our own constitution has been developed. Whatever be the original of a monarchy, whether elective or hereditary, it is impossible that unity can be preserved in the system without conceding in fact, and maintaining in theory, that the whole authority and power, the very being and essence of the nation, in all its parts and functions, is concentrated in the person of the monarch. Once admit another centre of organisation, and a battle is opened, and the nation must be torn to pieces, till one party has overpowered the

other, and unity is once more restored, partial and seeming unity, by absolute slavery. Thus the king confers the patent of nobility. He gathers round him the most illustrious of his subjects, and forms them into a council. He requires advice and information touching the commonalty of the realm, and assembles a House of Commons. He is the dispenser of justice; and because he cannot sit in person, he creates judges and magistrates. He is the defender of the realm, and therefore levies armies, gives commissions, cashiers, promotes, distributes honours, acts as the sole lord of the military force.

All temporal prerogatives and jurisdictions emanate from him. Hence even the Church itself, independent as it is in its spiritual privileges, of which no monarch can deprive it—yet the moment it becomes involved in temporalities must sue for them to the crown, and exercise its powers at the merey and by the permission of the crown. Even the property of the whole nation is his. And hence, notwithstanding the checks imposed upon the exercise of this right, our law is full of provisions which recognise his ultimate title. Nay, more, the very lives and persons, and character and comfort of his people are his also; and an injury to them is avenged, not so much as inflicted on the suffering individual, as perpetrated 'against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity.'

Nor is this a fiction of law. Law does not deal in fictions. It cannot maintain itself on fiction. No system can be based upon a lie. But there are grand and vital truths, so far removed from vulgar practice, so deeply imbedded in the innermost recesses of profound wisdom, that to common eyes they are as falsehoods: just as the being and nature of the soul, with all its mysteries and problems, is a falsehood to him who knows of nothing but his

body. It is not a lie, that somewhere or other in the body politic there must reside a supreme physical power, which we may endeavour to suppress, to hide, to break up, and to disperse, as we would dissipate a noxious tumour ; but which, the moment the nation begins to assume its national functions, and to act as a body, must come out. It is not a lie that this supreme power must be deposited, though only for a minute at a time, and for single separate acts, in the hands of an individual. And it is not a lie that the supreme physical power involves in it the absolute command of all temporalities and externals, and through them a wonderful control over the mind, though only incidentally. It is not because law, and precedent, and prudence, and conscience, and the balance of counteracting springs, may prevent this absolute power from thus assuming the omnipotent command and possession of all things, that therefore it does not exist. A giant possesses the power of crushing a child, though he uses his power like a lamb. And if there be any doubt of the stringency of those moral considerations which restrain him, the nurse of the child will act as if the power were likely to be exerted. The whole business of life is carried on upon a similar fiction—upon the assumption that powers exist, which, nevertheless, will not be brought into action. The only approach to fiction is the voluntary submission of the people to some one selected individual marked out by birth, and guaranteed for life in the supreme command.

But having once made this determination, wisely and righteously made it, the theory must be strictly adhered to. And how can it be prevented from exposing the State to all the caprices of an individual will, if the individual will creates, and therefore can destroy, the State ? And what is to become of the

people, thus left without the protection of any intermediate body?

It is by the adoption of another principle—the principle of permanence. The organisation of the tree is carried on by the gradual accretion of extraneous particles, which, when once incorporated with it, become fixed and consolidated, and form channels for conveying the vital principle farther on. This fixity and consolidation forms the tree. In the same manner any rational agent, in commencing a work, lays down for himself certain lines of action, from which he resolves not to deviate. He confines himself within certain bounds; he throws up barriers against his own caprices. He retains, indeed, the physical powers of removing and altering them at will; but unless he imposes a check upon his own freedom, he becomes involved in a chaos of fluctuating contingencies. Certainty, regularity, self-command in adhering to self-imposed laws, and the toleration of obstacles raised by our own hand, is one of the great virtues of human action, as it is the wonderful phenomenon most prominent in the operations of the supreme creative Will. “He laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever.”¹ “He commanded, and they were created. He hath also stablished them for ever and ever: He hath made a decree which shall not pass.”²

This principle of permanence in the development of the State from the will of the monarch takes this general form—that offices once created must not be destroyed—grants made must not be recalled—privileges conceded must not be withdrawn—power conferred must not be denied. Every thing is to be carried on upon custom, usage, prescrip-

¹ Ps. civ. 5.

² Ps. clxviii. 5, 6.

tion, "according to ancient practice from time immemorial;" by common rather than by statute law. Those who search into the philosophy of the British constitution will be surprised to observe how thoroughly it is permeated in all its parts with this principle, seemingly so unmeaning, often so opposed to obvious expediency and inclinations.

In this manner the British monarchy has shaped and developed itself by throwing up out of its own substance, as it were, and by the spontaneous action of its own free will, a variety of organs and instruments by which it works, but which also act as barriers and checks to its own caprices. The king created parliaments; but having created, he cannot dispense with them. He appoints judges; but having appointed them, he cannot remove them without the gravest cause. He gives a charter; but the arbitrary recall of charters was one of the crying crimes of James II. He nominates to commissions in the army, to magistracies, to peerages, to pensions, to privileges of various kinds; but they are not revocable at will. In theory he was the original proprietor and donor of all property; but he dare not touch a straw in the hovel of the meanest beggar, or resume a single farthing against the will of the present possessor.

Upon this principle the great charters of British liberties take the form of declaratory laws. They claim the privileges of Englishmen as birth-rights, as the usage of the constitution. And even in the creation of temporary offices, for occasional purposes, the greatest jealousy has been shewn in confining what is in its nature an exception to rule, an accidental and extraordinary emergency, to regular laws: just as in the wonderful analogy of the Divine operations, miracles themselves, which supersede all laws, are subjected to laws of their own.

This principle of permanence acts in a variety of ways.

It operates, first, to impress upon the movement of the governing will that character of regularity and uniformity, without which, even with the best intentions, it must become a tyranny. For there is no tyranny like caprice. True slavery is subjection to a rule, to which it is impossible to conform our will, because nature has established between them an irreconcilable contradiction. We can emancipate ourselves from any seeming slavery, where we can bring our will into conformity with our circumstances. But caprice prevents us from seeing the law, and yet binds us under its yoke.

Secondly, it gives to the people that confidence, that power of prospective prudence, that sense of repose and quietude, without which they cannot engage in any work of magnitude or value.

Thirdly, it renders the governing will cautious and thoughtful in establishing precedents, in creating powers and organs, which afterwards may embarrass and obstruct its own movements.

Fourthly, it thus restricts this creation in a great degree to organs of absolute necessity. Just as the vital principle in the body throws itself out unconsciously only into the formation of those instruments of sense and motion, without which it cannot develop its functions, so that the body is, as it were, an expansion of the soul, and the soul is an epitome of the body; and no organ is formed in the body for which there is not a corresponding faculty or want in the spirit: so, when thoughtfulness and self-command prevail in the movements of the sovereign power, he will not create in the body politic any superfluous or incongruous machinery. He will be unwilling to create any at all; and nothing but the pressure of necessity, in other words, the imperious

dictates of Nature herself, will induce him to do so ; and thus Nature herself, the wisest and best of all artisans, will become the modeller of the State, and the State will become, like the human body, only the expansion and incorporation of the natural soul.

Fifthly, if any false organisation has been admitted, the only mode of correcting it is by maintaining and leaving it to Nature. "The powers that be are ordained of God."¹ Whatever authorities and privileges have once been created, leave them to themselves ; and if noxious, they will die out and perish of themselves. By stirring the embers we only increase the flame. "In returning and rest shall ye be saved ; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."² "Their strength is to sit still."³ It is so, because, as was once before shewn, there is a healing power, a *vis medicatrix* in Nature, in the body politic as in the material frame, which can cement fractures, and slough-off tumours, and fill-up wounds, and, in some cases, even restore mutilations, while the body is kept at rest. Once admit the principle of change ; allow every one who feels an inconvenience to meditate and plan its removal ; encourage in this manner a sensitiveness and susceptibility to evils ; let loose all the wandering imaginations of the human heart ; unsettle the confidence of society in the stability of institutions ; exasperate minds against each other by the sense of injuries which can be, and should be, redressed, but are not redressed ; and how, in this fevered and unhealthy atmosphere of thought, can any real amelioration be made in the condition of a nation ?

But accustom minds to patience and endurance ; throw them in upon themselves for energy to correct, by their own improvement in virtue, what cannot

¹ Rom. xiii. 1.² Is. xxx. 15.³ Is. xxx 7.

be improved in their outward circumstances; teach them to regard those circumstances as trials, and as discipline ordained for them by a merciful Providence; let those who are already invested with power feel assured and undisturbed in its possession; diffuse a general confidence and quietness over the whole society; suspend the restless impatience and craving for change; and, by degrees, all things will fall into their place; if the places themselves are not altered, yet minds will become fitted to them; irritation will subside, views will be cleared, true evils and their causes will become more apparent; and, with the removal of jealousy and suspicion, there will arise greater willingness to remove such evils, voluntarily and gradually, and with such mutual toleration as almost to prevent the movement from being really, or being felt as, a change. Even a democracy thus managed must soon lapse insensibly into a monarchy. Turbulent and fretful spirits would retire from public affairs. All would be willing to give up power and privileges which they could not turn to their own advancement, and which, in the hands of others, would not be turned against themselves; and whether the outward form of a plurality of governors was retained or not, such a unity of law and action would be introduced into the whole body, that the natural evils of a democracy would scarcely be felt. And in all this no mention is made of Providence, which, even without the working of Nature, can bring good out of evil, and light out of darkness, when the human will is once reduced to obedience, quietness, and faith.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Now it is obvious that no such principle of regularity and permanence could be maintained, if the crystallisation of the organs of the State issued from the people; because, with a plurality of wills must come disorder and incongruity. The very essence of will without law is caprice and confusion. To the monarch, therefore, only we can look for that informing, originating power which is to develop the organisation of the State.

But how, then, is the popular voice and the representative system—a system which, with all its perversions and extravagances, is founded on Nature, and approved by expediency—to find a place in the government of nations?—or, if admitted, how is it to be reconciled with the unity of the Supreme Will? A Christian may turn for instruction to the polity of the Church as divinely appointed, and as one which in the most positive form repudiates mere popular rule—which is monarchical, and founded on prescription—and of which the whole mechanism radiates uniformly and uninterruptedly from the person of its presiding Head—its Bishop; and yet in which, according to primitive practice, the popular voice finds a place even in the election of its rulers.

Again, he may look to the moral government of the universe; to the kingdom of God as exhibited in the natural relations of man to his Creator. All power is in the hands of the one supreme Creator. From Him flow all appointments. He setteth up,

and putteth down. "Not from the east, nor from the west, nor yet from the south, comes promotion," but from Him only. "By Him kings reign, and princes decree justice. By Him princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth."¹ And yet men, His subjects—His blind, wayward, sinful subjects—are admitted to take some part in the government of the world. And obedience and loyalty to God,—that loyalty which refuses to lift even a thought or a murmur against His will,—is yet consistent, or rather, it is necessarily involved in an active participation in this rule. Man is a fellow-worker with God Himself.

To solve this problem, it must be ascertained what functions can be legitimately discharged by the people,—what originating active power can be entrusted to them without violating the unity of the ruling will. In what cases may the voice of the people become, in any sense, as the voice of God, and require us to conform to it?

These cases appear to be chiefly three; corresponding with the three obvious uses of the representative system, of which the acknowledged object is, to prevent oppression, to secure fit governors, and to exercise that free agency which is necessary to raise a people from the consciousness and the degradation of slavery.

In the first place; the popular voice may well be consulted when the subject of inquiry is their own wants and grievances. No one can be so well acquainted with these as the people themselves. If not regularly brought before the monarch, they will often be overlooked. The mere opportunity of legitimately expressing them soothes irritation, and gives vent to passions which, pent up, may ferment into flames.

¹ Prov. viii. 15.

Prayer is the fit attitude of human nature, whether in individuals or in a nation. It humbles, without degrading—rather, it ennobles, while it softens. It is an act of energy, without encouraging pride, or impairing faith. And, therefore, in every State, there should be created an organ of prayer; and it should be elected by the people, and legitimated by the king. This was, in fact, one of the chief originating causes of popular representation in parliaments. They met to obtain a redress of grievances; and the very laws took the form of petition to the monarch. And in all this there is no breach of unity, no creation of an independent, counteracting power—no trespass on the supremacy of the sovereign.

Secondly; although Almighty God, both in nature and in Revelation, does forbid us to walk by the light of our own eyes, and to judge after “the devices and desires of our own hearts”—although (to repeat the warning) the very act of choice, *αἵρεσις*, heresy, is so fraught with peril and evil, in the present blindness and corruption of our natures, that we pray against it, as a deadly sin, and as the germ of all error and mischief,—still choice cannot be excluded from our acts, so long as we are free agents, placed in a state of temptation. “I call heaven and earth,” says the holy Moses, “to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life.”¹ And the whole appeal of the gospel to man is an appeal to his free choice. How is this seeming contradiction to be reconciled?

Again; by distinguishing between the different operations of choice. There are cases where we are bound to choose, and cases where choice is sin.

¹ Deut. xxx. 19.

We have no right—we have no means of wisely exercising a power, to choose between objects merely of our own desire. We do not know, and we cannot even calculate, without an act of faithlessness and presumption, what line of conduct, or arrangement of circumstances, or opinion and doctrine, will be most pleasant, or most expedient, or most agreeable to our own will. Wherever choice takes this direction, it is, in matters of practice, wilfulness, and, in matters of doctrine, heresy. It is sin and folly; sin, because it sets aside the absolute supremacy of the one Divine will; folly, because neither our own feelings nor our own opinions at any moment can be standards of truth or safe guides to action.

But we may and must choose between an object of desire and an object of duty; between what is agreeable and what is commanded. And since duty, and command, and law, imply a lawgiver external to ourselves; and since, for that lawgiver to be acknowledged and to have power, he must be visible and present with us; and since man is placed by the Almighty under no other visible ruler but man; therefore this act of choice resolves itself mainly into a discernment and confession of our appointed rulers. It implies and requires, in some degree, a right discrimination of their characters, but chiefly of the external marks of their authoritative commission. And thus our blessed Lord, when He presented Himself to the Jews, and His Church, when it stands before the world, do not submit to the judgment and choice of men, either the doctrines which they preach, as divinely communicated to them, or the polity which they establish; but they do require their hearers to determine whether they are messengers of God, commissioned by Him, and bear the marks of such a commission. Christ demands of the Jews that they should believe in Him—in Himself per-

sonally. He calls on them to receive Him as their Messiah. He knows that if the right spirit be in them, they will recognise and discover Him, even shrouded under the mystery of the flesh. "My sheep hear my voice: but ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep."¹ "If God were your Father, ye would love me."² "Every man, therefore, that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me."³

And so throughout the whole system of life, the great trial of man consists not in what, but in whom he chooses—not in deciding upon doctrines, but in discerning his right teachers; and in discerning them not by their correspondence with his own notions, but by the external marks of a commission from above.

And now to apply this fact to the present question. It implies that the whole body of the people may be called on, under certain precautions, to witness to the character of those who form the State, as at the coronation they are called on to acknowledge the title of their sovereign. For a similar purpose an appeal is made to them in the appointment to spiritual offices, in the divine constitution of the Church; where, nevertheless, no power whatever is given to them in the appointment itself. They witness to the character of a priest, but they cannot ordain him. Upon the same principle, a jury is formed out of the inferior ranks; and they are called on to decide on matters of fact, resting on the credibility of witnesses; and, therefore, to decide, mainly and primarily, on the witnesses themselves,—while it would be idle to expect that they should be competent to pronounce upon the question of law, or often even upon the facts submitted to them; as when a physician gives evidence on the nature of poison, or a seaman on

¹ John x. 26.² John viii. 42.³ John vi. 45.

the laws of managing a vessel. They judge of the character of the witness on the external evidence of his veracity. In the same manner, in embracing any opinion, or in joining any party, men do and can pronounce upon the character of men, while they profess an entire ignorance of the questions which they discuss.

There is an internal sense, a faculty of vision, a clearness and correctness of perception in this point, where the heart is right, and even, to a certain degree, after it is corrupted, which manifests itself even in children; and which extends not only to palpable and broad indications of character, but to a thousand little secret hints and intimations, often not subjected to the consciousness, and which separately may be valueless; which yet when collected and compared, and summed up by the voice of numbers, give, for the most part, a correct conclusion. So it is in physiognomy: we judge of the movements of the unseen mind by the vibration of a muscle, the quivering of the lip, a change of colour, a faltering voice, a variation in the angle of a line, a shifting in the little drop of light which plays in the eye. Nature has formed all these into a wonderfully expressive language, and has enabled even the child to read them by a secret instinct. Otherwise, how could mind, buried as it is within the body, communicate with mind? And though we often err, the error chiefly arises from some bias of self-will, and of personal interest—which is fully as likely to prevail in one human mind as in another, and is more likely to prevail in one than in the common act of many.

Upon these principles, there seems to be nothing at variance with Christian obedience, and abhorrence of popular caprice, nor with the unity of the governing will, in calling on the people to take at least a part in nominating those who are to deliberate

on the affairs of the nation. The representative principle is sound and good, when confined to the selection of fit persons to act and to judge for the people in matters regularly submitted to them. And virtually it should be attended to in the nomination to all offices. No wise ruler will ever defy public opinion in the character of his appointments. And the more the people can be consulted in them, without surrendering the appointment itself, or confounding a capricious fondness for a sober attestation of prudence and goodness, the stronger the government will be, and the more elevated the people. They should be consulted also, not on peculiar qualifications—not, for instance, whether the commander of a fleet is a good sailor, or a general is skilled in tactics, or a judge acquainted with law,—knowing nothing themselves either of navigation, or tactics, or law, they must be incompetent to judge of such points,—but of the general outlines of character—of probity, benevolence, sobriety, talent, fidelity in the discharge of trust, disinterestedness, freedom from temptations, general cultivation of mind, and habits of command,—of these they are competent witnesses, when opportunities have been given of observation. Upon these, all men, whether young or old, educated or uneducated, good or evil, must daily be called to judge in the private affairs of life. Wherever trust is to be reposed (and trust must be reposed every hour in some one or more of our fellow-creatures), there we must pronounce a decision on those points. And therefore Nature herself has furnished us with an instinctive perception of them, and has so arranged, that no art or hypocrisy can, for a long time, succeed in concealing them.

Such was the representative principle of the British House of Commons, so long as the members elected were sent by their constituents as fit persons

to deliberate and to act independently for the whole nation, without any subsequent appeal to the constituents themselves. It has now been secretly abandoned for another and very different form, concealed under the same words. The member is now supposed to represent the wishes, the voice, the power of his constituents; he is to be amenable to them, is called to account for every vote which he gives in opposition to their wishes. When he offends them, he surrenders his trust into their hands; and, if the principle be consistently carried out, this he must do on every question,—for on none can he be without some party to differ from his opinion. When he sues for their suffrages, he rests his claim not upon his general character and fitness for the duties of legislation, of which the populace in his own vicinity may form a very correct judgment; but upon his accordance with their own opinions in matters of finance, of war, of peace, of jurisprudence, of policy, of religion, in every one of which, by the very constitution of human nature, the voice of the majority told by the head, to which he must for the most part appeal, must be wrong. And as their opinions must be formed by their wishes, and their wishes, by the very principles asserted, must be confined to their own personal interests — (for not the good of the whole body, but the good of each individual, is made the object of government, when government is referred to the people)—and as their personal interests, from their position in society, must, for the most part, be of the lowest and vulgarest kind, hence a canvass is carried on by promises of relief from taxes, by hopes of improved prices, by all the scurrility and libellous malignity of personal jealousy and ill-will. And when votes are thus purchased by promises of personal benefits to be conveyed through the medium of legislation, it

becomes an obvious and a shorter mode of securing the same end, to obtain, without such a circuit, some tangible advantage at once. Whether a constituent gives his suffrage that he may obtain his loaf cheaper, or sell his corn dearer; or, instead of gathering up his contemplated gain by driblets of pence and farthings, accepts at once a sum of money, in principle differs little. Bribery cannot be checked,—it can scarcely be condemned, at least, as inconsistent with the theory of the constitution, so long as the modern representative principle is upheld. And with bribery, what becomes of the character of the subject? What can follow but tyranny in the ruler?

The third legitimate exercise of the popular will is, the giving to the acts of the ruler a free and willing assent. And this is maintained in the very wording of our own statutes, which are enacted by the King by the advice and with the consent of his parliaments. But, although obviously needed, it involves one of those moral problems which occur so frequently in examining the workings of the human mind. It seems difficult in theory, and is most difficult in practice, to reconcile the perfect subordination of the subject, and his incompetency to originate any movement of himself, with his power of rendering acts of his ruler invalid by refusing his consent to them; and when this power is wantonly abused, the effect must be, at times, to stop the whole machine of government, and to render it necessary for the supreme ruler to interfere with some extraordinary prerogative, which will derange it still more. Or, on the other hand, it will end in crushing the supreme ruler himself, and transferring the whole power to the hands of the people.

And yet, strange as it may seem, this is not unlike the constitution of the Divine kingdom upon earth. The moral commandments even of the Al-

mighty Creator Himself do not take effect with man without the free and willing assent of man being given to them ; and they are tendered to man by the ministers of the Almighty, to be received or rejected by us as we choose. There is no compulsion. They take effect with our consent. And the power thus assigned to us is perpetually abused, grossly abused, and the whole machinery of the moral government of God is in this way perpetually thrown into the most dreadful disorder, till the world seems at times to be little more than an abode of sin and misery ; and yet the Almighty does not interfere with miracles to remedy every infraction of His laws. Patience, forbearance, long-suffering, are the character of His dealings. If the law which He proposes to our hearts is rejected once, He waits for another opportunity, when the affections may be more softened, or the conscience more awakened. He brings it before us in another shape, by the hands of other ministers ; or a remedy, it may be, for the mischief of our rejection is provided by recurring to some other natural law ; or the full tide of evil is allowed to take its course, until our own eyes and the eyes of others are opened to our folly, and we are either made a spectacle of terror and warning to futurity, or come with a humble and bitter repentance to sue for pardon, and to bind ourselves more closely to His service from the remembrance of past transgressions and deserved punishment. And thus the moral goodness of man, and the moral perfection of the creation, is wrought out from the midst of obstructions and of evils, not by a compulsory obedience from which it could never be evolved, but from free agency, and a seeming balance and even conflict of power between the Creator and the creature.

And such must be the system of an earthly polity. An earthly ruler must not disdain to act

with the same indulgence, the same self-denial, the same concessions to the infirmities and faults of his subjects, the same submission to thwartings, oppositions, and delay—even to contempt and injury—which, as if the mystery required the strongest possible enforcement, are, in the scheme of Christianity, gathered round the person, and exhibited in the character of our Lord, till to any other eyes than those of faith, the Deity is almost lost in the humiliation of the man. To suffer, appears on earth to be a necessary condition for ruling; and he who would stretch out his arms to embrace any portion of this world within his love and care, and to bind it together in one body, must stretch them out like our Lord to be nailed upon a cross. There can be no greater exemplification of real power, than to withhold its exercise under great provocation; no stronger proof of love, than to forgive offences; no wider field for wisdom, than to gain ends by means and by contrivances instead of by brute force; no better encouragement to patience, forbearance, strict justice, and charity, and obedience, than for an omnipotent king to exhibit towards his weak subjects the same virtues of toleration which he requires in their conduct to him. Bring in the strong arm of power at every counteraction, and the free agency of the subject is destroyed, and the goodness of the ruler has no scope or opportunity of action. And these are sufficient reasons why, in any perfect scheme of civil polity, the will of the ruler should, as much as possible, demand and wait for the consent of the ruled.

CHAPTER XXV.

AND here it might seem the place to examine the safeguards and limitations of that popular election, which, it has been seen, constitutes an essential element in a well-organised polity. Round this question, in the present day, have been gathered the most, and the fiercest, of our political conflicts. But if the principles which have been suggested are correct, there is little necessity for entering into it. Place the theory of representation on a right footing,—restrict it to the expression of grievances, to advice, to consent, to consultation with the Sovereign, for the general good of the whole body,—and there is little temptation to seek either the right of suffrage or the office of representative. And, with the removal of such temptations, we remove also the sycophancy, rivalry, corruption, and intrigues of candidates, and the violence and caprices of the people. A right spirit is infused into the system; and this spirit, of itself, will either generate or render unnecessary the proper external restrictions of custom and law. By manners, not by statutes, is a body politic to be regulated; and where manners exist not, statutes are useless.

On the other hand, it is never to be forgotten, that, with the admission of the present received theory of representation, all safeguards, however they may be tolerated for a time, must ultimately be broken through. There is no end but universal suffrage. Universal suffrage is its just and its logical conclusion; and just and logical conclusions will

force their way, like water through a sponge, however the final issue may be delayed. If the representative be sent into the great council of the nation not to deliberate independently on the general weal, but to exhibit and enforce the opinions and interests of the section by which he is elected,—if, in this character, he resigns his office as soon as he differs from his constituents,—if he rests his claim to election not upon his general fitness, but on his accordance with the doctrines of a party,—if the public deliberations are thus reduced to a conflict of personal interests;—then every member of the nation is entitled to have his interests represented, and his inclinations consulted alike. The beggar has a right as strong as the noble to be protected and benefited. He has, in all Christian charity—in the common sympathies of our nature—a stronger right; for he is weak, and needs it more. Neither money, nor rank, can confer an exclusive title to a share in the battle of selfishness, and in the spoils to be won in it. The poorest, the meanest, the most destitute, are those who ought to possess the loudest voice in the national council. So humanity and equity will decide. And however individuals may smother such feelings in their private affairs, in nations and in masses these will act with extraordinary power.

Nor can the franchise be restricted upon the principle of education, or of intellectual fitness. We have seen opinion, the opinion of the individual, installed as the judge of truth—its only judge—as much by the doctrine of expediency as by the avowed sophistry of self-will. The opinions, therefore, of every man are equal. There is no mode of deciding between them but a majority of voices. Truth and right must be calculated by the head. And if there is one point in which the opinion of

the individual may be entitled to respect under such a system, it is in pronouncing on his own personal good and happiness. The poorest peasant, the most ignorant clown, the mere child, the weakest of women, each have their own feelings, and their peculiar appetites, into which no one can enter but themselves. You have no more right to propose acting and deliberating for their good, without consulting themselves, than for the most educated of the nobility. Each alike will prefer and maintain his claim to think and judge for himself on a question, in which, without the arbitration of a strict external revealed law, it is both unjust and impossible that any other should judge for him. And you must concede the right. You may stave off the claim for a time. You may endeavour to palliate, to delay, to compromise, to concede by degrees, to break the fall,—but the fall must come. You may be enabled as yet to resist by the strength of a party, or by the quiescence of the lower orders, or by the temporary preponderance of a monied influence, or by the *vis inertiae* of established institutions,—but every hour the strength of poverty is increasing: its cries are becoming louder; its force more organised; its theory (the theory which even the so-called Conservatism of the country has admitted) more logically evolved, and more extensively accepted; and, on the other side, all moral strength is wasting away. The ground is maintained solely by self-interest. And self-interest never can support a contest of the few against the many. The few must perish.

And from this impending end there is but one mode of escape. Not any arbitrary restriction of the franchise, which it should be the object of the legislator to extend as widely as possible, while he diminishes its tremendous responsibility,—not laws against bribery, which will never be enforced, or

will be easily evaded, and must be contradictory to the very essence of a democratical representative theory,—not ingenious and intricate contrivances for filtering the stream of popular corruption through a series of electoral chambers,—not secrecy in voting, which only panders to cowardice, and cloaks iniquity, and gives fuller scope to corruption,—not even securities against the turbulence and intimidation of mobs—securities which cannot reach the worst forms of outrage and menace, such as pursue the voter into his private life:—all these are but palliatives or quackeries, which endeavour to efface the symptoms, while they leave the disease untouched. But reject the theory of a balance of conflicting powers in the constitution. Cease to regard the Commons as a vent for popular rapacity, legitimately placed there to struggle for its own self-interest against the crown. Restrict it to its natural functions,—functions which would be permitted to it by the voice of Heaven itself: and acknowledge that voice of Heaven, and not the opinion of man, as the criterion of truth and right, political as well as moral,—and then you may throw open the franchise to every class of citizens, but those who are branded with some notorious crime; and yet trust that they will send into the senate the best and wisest of their fellow-subjects;—or, at least, not fill it with mountebanks from a popular stage, or with adventurers, whose only distinction is the extravagance of their lawlessness.

And when it is asked, how such a revolution of doctrine is to be effected, the answer is, once more—by the same means through which a people may be taught patience, sobriety, self-denial, loyalty, peaceableness, obedience, and all other the virtues of their condition; and by the same means by which, in place of a sophistical logic, based (if base it can be called)

upon mere opinion, we may substitute in the minds of a nation, a firm and blessed adherence to fixed and immutable truth. And these means are not mere words, or outward teaching, or written books, but personal influence and example. And the personal influence here required is not the vague energy of individuals, but the authority of an organised body. And that body, to oppose opinion, must not rest its own authority on opinion. It must claim, and be able to exhibit, a delegated, transmitted, hereditary commission, and doctrine, from the source of all authority—from a power external to man. It must assert a religion, and a religion with an Apostolical Succession in its ministers, and an Apostolical Creed in its teaching. It must stand before the country as independent of the State; for the State cannot correct itself. A diseased frame cannot work out its own cure. It must be armed with a higher power, and be able to infuse more than an earthly spirit, to cope with and overpower its antagonist. And it must be neither Popery, which would crush all popular expansion, nor Dissent, which would let it loose from law; neither one nor the other, since both alike subvert the external authority of tradition, and establish the supremacy of opinion,—one by the infallibility of a Pope, and the other by the infallibility of the individual; but it must be a true branch of the old Catholic Church, such as exists in England, and in the off-shoots which have been propagated from it. And to this Church a Christian will look, not perhaps hopefully and sanguinely, but yet not all in despair, in this, as in so many other disorders of society, seemingly far removed from her influence, but subjected to her in the same manner, and by the same laws, under which the slightest movement of the man is connected with the affection of his mind; as the blos-

soming of a daisy, at a certain moment, is dependent on the revolution of the heavens; as every variation of thought and act must fall, when traced to its source, under some high and general category of abstract truth.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AND now, having dotted out the general outline of the constitution of political society, it follows, to inquire into its duties. For duties it evidently has. Corporate persons have a real and true existence, as well as individuals. They are charged with particular functions in the system of the world. They have their virtues and their vices, their characters and fortunes, their moral responsibilities,—above all, their punishments and rewards. If individuals are regarded and dealt with by that fine eye and hand of Providence, that wonderful minuteness of observation, which feathers the wing of an insect, as it launches the planets in their course; yet nations and societies seem alike, perhaps seem even more, the object of His care. It is to the Church, and of the Church, and with the Church, far more than to, or of, or with the individual, that the Bible is addressed, and speaks, and is concerned. Individuals are regarded mainly as parts and portions of it.

And this question, in the present day, occupies no little space in political discussions. On it must ultimately turn the relation of the State to religion; and, mixed up as religious sects must be with political parties, it involves the stability and safety of every administration, and even the integrity of the empire. And, briefly stated, it takes this form:—Has the nation, in its corporate character, a moral conscience, and therefore a religious responsibility? or, is it merely a conventional association, like a

joint-stock company, whose care is restricted to the temporal interest of its members?

To a Christian there can be no doubt. If the nation be, in any degree, designed or formed upon the principles hitherto suggested; if it be really an incorporation of the Divine spirit, an expression of the Divine image, an instrument of the Divine will, employed in rearing and training up the whole man, and especially in aiding and nursing the spiritual Church—then religion can be no accident, no by-play, of the legislator or the ruler. It must constitute his first object. In a thousand forms and exigencies, it is essential to the very existence of the body politic.

And yet there is no little mystery connected with the assertion of a national conscience. Conscience is an attribute of mind, and can no more exist apart from it than whiteness or hardness can be separated from body. And, as an attribute of mind, it must reside in some individual mind; as the individual mind must reside in, and constitute, the individual man. There can be no abstract, corporate mind, composed of a multitude of individuals; and therefore, if a conscience and moral responsibility exist any where in the nation, it must be found in some one person. It is this mystery, and a failure to analyse minutely the real constitution of society, which has perplexed, and even thrown ridicule on, the whole theory of national responsibility. And it can only be maintained by recurring to the view before suggested, in which the movements of every body politic, however it may be constituted, and however swayed by a majority, are still determined by some one individual, whose single voice must turn the scale; and, in which view, therefore, every individual voter, who possibly may turn the scale, is subject to the same obligations and responsibilities

as if he certainly would turn it. Let us remember the three essential elements into which every corporate body must resolve itself,—the minority, the majority, and the unit who determines the majority; and we shall then understand the true theory of a national conscience. It is the conscience of each individual who is called on to take any part in swaying the movements of the body. In this country, for instance, it is the conscience not only of the Monarch—not only of each member of the legislature or of the ministry,—but of every subject, however low in rank, who is intrusted with the franchise, and whose voice may determine the election of the member, whose voice again may determine the decisions of the legislature. He is, and he is bound to regard himself as, the ruler, the lord and master of the whole empire, and to act accordingly. And his duties, in such political actions, are regulated by the same laws of moral right and wrong to which he is subject in his private life. He owes duties to his Maker, duties to his neighbours, duties to his dependants, duties to himself, duties to every being with whom he is connected in any moral relation whatever. And he is no more released from these when carrying with him, in his acts, a whole nation, than when acting for and representing a family. They become even more binding, far more binding, with the frightful extent of his possible influence, and with the magnitude of the questions with which he is called upon to deal.

There are, indeed, certain considerations which modify such actions; not by immediately affecting the duties, but by limiting the power. No one is tied to more than he is able to perform. And the power of a voter in a majority is not absolute and permanent, like that which the will possesses over the private movements of the individual, but is

limited chiefly by four circumstances :—First, by its dependence on the body of that majority, of which he himself may, or does, constitute the head ; secondly, by the possible fluctuations and uncertainty of that body ; thirdly, by the reluctancy and opposition of the minority which he overpowers ; and, fourthly, by the impossibility of exercising control beyond external actions. These circumstances are the proper explanation of those seeming modifications of moral duty, which experience and common sense are compelled to tolerate in the exercise of political functions ; and of which a low theory has taken advantage to deny the existence of any political morality whatever.

In the first place, as a voter can possess no power except by the concurrence of at least half of the whole body of voters, he is bound to use all legitimate means to secure their concurrence and permanent co-operation. Upon this is founded not merely the need, but the duty, of party in political life ; and the necessity, therefore, of occasional concessions, indulgences, and compromises, without which that party cannot be held together. It is not in politics as in the Church, where the virtue and unity of the body and its functions in the world depend on the exclusion of party. The Church, in its proper organisation, has no popular appeal, no democratical energy invested with a permanent right to be consulted, and even to exercise a veto, in the decisions of its rulers. Obedience to its heads, the bishops, and advice in occasional questions of ecclesiastical policy, are nearly all that is required from the inferior members of the body. There is no perpetual legislation, no permanent organ of the popular voice, no fluctuating elements of discord and contention, which cannot be held together, or reduced to any degree of order, except by the cohesion of party.

Party is the very essence of a body which is constantly in action, and acts by a majority. And therefore party is an essential feature in any political constitution which admits in any degree what all wise constitutions do admit, and which legalises, a fixed popular element.

To what extent the compromises rendered necessary by the necessity of party may be carried, without abandoning the rectitude of the individual, is a question only to be determined, like other moral contingencies, by the ordinary laws of casuistry. They do not preclude the duty of openly witnessing to truth, of urging its adoption in its fulness, of refusing to take part in any evil, of endeavouring to bind the party together, not by calculations of expediency, but by the highest motives and affections. But when this has been done, they do permit us to remain contented, for a time, with less than the whole good which we wish ultimately to achieve. They may require the abandonment of peculiar projects ; such, at least, as can be traced up to our own opinions, or personal feelings, and are not positively commanded by a competent authority. They enforce our co-operation with others in plans to which personally we may be indifferent, or even perceive objections. And they require such a temperate balance and adjustment of contending difficulties, as Christianity encourages in us all, by the spirit of meekness, charity, humility, and patience.

Secondly,—there are many cases, in which it would be our duty to act in a particular way, provided we could ensure the permanence of our power, and in which it is equally our duty to abstain from so acting when our power is precarious, and may be of short duration. There are medicines which a physician is bound to try, when the trial can be continued for months, which it may be not only idle

but noxious to employ, when the patient is under his care only for a day. And there are cases of religious error which a Christian would be bound to expose and correct, if time were given him to instil the truth as well as to lay bare the falsehood, but which it may be wiser, and more charitable, to leave untouched in a single conversation. If we have space and opportunity to build up a new and better house for the inhabitant of a hovel, we may venture to pull the hovel down; but to pull it down only, and leave its occupant houseless, is neither benevolence nor goodness. It is a consideration like this which justifies a certain adherence to the measures of our predecessors in power, even when they are, in themselves, objectionable; which prohibits many attempts at improvement requiring a long course of watchful care to bring them to perfection, and such as, if left unfinished, would prove only wasteful or detrimental. It confines, indeed, and hampers, and at times almost paralyses, the hand even of a settled government; and this in exact proportion to the weakness or want of coherence in the party by which it is supported. It is one source of that impotency for good, which is felt in all democratical bodies. And yet even this impotency is better than that rash impetuosity which, under the plea of conscience, begins without calculating the probability of living to finish, and which pulls down an unsightly building, to leave in its place nothing but a ruin and a waste. And thus, not the duty, but the power of action, may be materially affected and limited by the fluctuations, or possible fluctuations, of the majority. And the hand may be tied, not by calculations of expediency, but by a positive rule of right, from attempting that which is right in itself, and that to which our tongue may be bound to witness, while our arm is withheld from performing it.

Thirdly,—the determining voice of a majority must be considered as controlling and overpowering a reluctant minority. And this also materially affects its power, and therefore restricts its duty. It affects its power, because the submission of the minority depends only upon a voluntary concession, scarcely secured by compact. And this submission is endangered by every thing which exasperates and offends, by every chance of success, by every wavering of the balance of power, by the mere caprices of the popular voice, by the contingencies of circumstances, especially by the natural irritability and impatience of political conflicts. And with the refusal of voluntary submission there comes the necessity of compelling it,—a necessity involving, in its last extremity, the horrors of intestine war, and even in its most mitigated form, the miseries of civil discord, the sullenness of an extorted and stinted obedience, and the chicanery of passive resistance.

It is not the mere power of commanding a casting vote,—it is not even the certainty of finally overpowering resistance by superior physical force, which will justify in a popular, or in any government, the adoption of measures which are likely to irritate and offend, whatever be their intrinsic excellence. Diminish, weaken, convert, win over the minority; but while the minority continues in strength, its power, and the consequent limitation of our own freedom and responsibility, is to be calculated, not by an arithmetical balance of numbers, but by an infinity of moral considerations. Nor does this apparent submission to expediency in abstaining from good justify, in the slightest degree, a similar submission in perpetrating evil. We may hesitate to enforce a salutary law under the risk of a violent opposition. But not even the fear of civil war can oblige us to pass a measure which we acknowledge

to be evil. Acquiescence in bearing evil may be a duty; activity in producing it never can be.

And lastly,—the power of the Government, when brought to bear upon a reluctant minority, must be regarded as chiefly physical; and therefore as extending only to external acts. I suppose that all its indirect influences, the weight of example, the subsidiary employment of moral authority, both in its own person and in the person of the Church, all fail in producing unanimity—that nothing is left but the sword. And the sword itself will be powerless, and ought not to be employed, in cases where, morally considered, external acts are valueless, and where the internal state of the heart and mind ought to be the paramount object. It is powerless in religion. It is powerless in diffusing goodness, or faith, or loyalty. The most rigid police, and the most sanguinary penal laws, cannot touch the mind. And that legislator knows little of his duty who would be content, in points like these, with binding the hands, while he left the thoughts and feelings uncorrected. Here again is a restriction upon our power; and the restriction will not only justify, but compel, a degree of toleration, which, at first sight, will appear weakness, and will alarm a scrupulous conscientiousness.

All these considerations, indeed, are in themselves alarming. They seem to offer so many palliatives of positive wrong—so many excuses for timidity, compromise, lukewarmness, negligence, and all the worst features of that expediency school of political empiricism (for philosophy it cannot be called) under which this empire, for so many years, has been floating down the current of a vulgar popular opinion, and is now rapidly approaching the falls. They will be despised and thrown aside by the bold energetic law of principle, which, from

the one extreme of compromise, is recoiling into the opposite vice of temerity. But it is never to be forgotten, that, excepting where Revelation has laid down for us certain positive commands of determinate acts, all questions of moral right and wrong are open to the same temptations, and are surrounded by the same calculations. The precise path of duty lies amidst doubts, and can be found only by a sort of guess-work, in which, short as we may fall of strict correctness, we yet exercise and strengthen our moral faculties, and may be regarded with indulgence by Heaven, so long as we honestly strive to avoid the error which lies upon each side. We advance, with a vibrating movement, upon a zigzag, between two lines of landmarks. And though the process resembles the deliberations of expediency, in the doubts and contingencies with which it is conversant, it differs from it in the vital point, that it is searching for the right, and for the will of Providence; while expediency is searching for the useful, and for the pleasure of the individual. But, before we can ascertain our duty, we must ascertain the real relations in which we stand to other beings; and when these are fluctuating and obscure, there the right must, in each instance, be subjected to calculations, and require a balance of contingencies, which will often be charged with compromise, and often degenerate into it really; and which, nevertheless, when guarded by a rigid adherence to all positive commands, and by a stern law of self-denial, will bring us as near to goodness as is practicable for the frailty of human nature.

With these limitations and provisions, it may now be reasserted, that the duties of the State, or rather of the statesman, are the same, precisely the same, and fully as binding upon the conscience, as the duties of the private individual. The same law

of conscience is laid upon each. Wherever a moral person exists, there a moral relation springs up, and moral affections are engendered, and moral acts prescribed. And the obligation, and fearful responsibility, increases with the magnitude of the interests which we affect, and of the trust which we exercise. Instead of diminishing with the transfer of our activity from a private to a political sphere,—instead of appalling us when we are regulating a family, and dying away into nothing when we are swaying the movements of an empire, the process is just reversed.

The statesman, in every act which draws the empire with him, owes a duty to his God, which must regulate his legislation on religion; a duty to his neighbour, which defines the law of nations; a duty to the majority, which acts with him, and to the minority which acts against him; a duty to that part of the community which is precluded from any share in the public deliberations; and a duty also to each separate member of the body politic, whether individual or corporate. But of all these duties, the first and foremost,—the one without which no other can be determined or practised, or, if practised, would possess any value,—the one which alone can bring down blessings from Heaven, blessings, whether natural or supernatural,—the one on which every legislator, heathen or Christian, possessing the slightest pretensions to wisdom, has laid the greatest stress, and rested on it as the palladium of the empire—is his duty towards God. It has been left for the nineteenth century of the Christian era to discover, that this duty is a delusion, and that religion forms no part of the concern of a statesman. And it cannot be long before we shall learn experimentally the operation of this astounding theory.

The circumstances under which this singular

phenomenon has sprung up are well worthy of consideration. They may be resolved into three—the weakness, both moral and physical, of the Church; the growth of heresy and schism, under the names of dissent and popery; and the simultaneous development of the popular element in the Constitution beyond its proportionate size. And if the causes of these are to be traced, they may easily be found: not, as some few might infer, in the assertion of the independence of the British Church at the Reformation, but in the circumstances under which that assertion was most righteously and most necessarily made. We do not judge the cause of the martyr by his sufferings or his death. We do not recommend a dishonourable and treacherous peace because a just war may leave our country a wreck and ruin, though still alive. And even the weakness and losses of the British Church—even its being cut down to the ground, and burnt with fire, leaving nothing but a solitary shoot to spring forth in vigour in some happier times—is neither so sad a sight, nor so evident an indication of the anger of its Lord, as its enjoyment of a false peace, under a usurpation, at once corruptive of Divine truth and destructive of the appointed system established by a Divine hand, for His glory and the salvation of man. And yet its history, for the three last centuries, has been sad and cheerless. Impoverished and despoiled at the Reformation—stripped of those organised bodies, which, if restored to a rightful form, might have proved its greatest strength—reduced, for a time, too abjectly under the civil power—compelled, by the necessity of struggling against its formidable foreign antagonist, to embrace the State too closely, and nearly strangled in the embrace—then cast out, root and branch, in the rebellion—then, when its vigorous energy was beginning to revive, exposed

to the still more noxious influence of the Revolution, and to the corruptions of political party,—what wonder if the nineteenth century found the Church debilitated, and almost paralysed, under the poison of the same evil principles which had infected the very atmosphere which it breathed?—what wonder if the Church itself had forgotten to enforce its own high claims to reverence, its most vital and evangelical doctrines, its sterner law of duty, its unbending transmission of truth, its Apostolical commission, and its sacramental efficacy, when all around was unbelief and coldness; and when, in the first reviving struggle against coldness, the recoil had fallen naturally into an enthusiasm, which confounded essential with accidental forms, and, in endeavouring to restore life, thought lightly of the outward channels through which that life was to be conveyed?

And while the Church had thus suffered, the Civil Power had been equally tempted, and had still more grievously fallen. In its rightful struggle against Popery for its own internal supremacy and for the integrity of national life, it had accustomed itself to regard religion chiefly in its political phase. Popery was virtually treason; and as treason it was punished, not as a doctrinal error. Even the penal laws were not directed against heretical opinions, but against those practical rebellions which, for the most part, accompanied them, and were almost inseparably entwined together in the one root of mischief—the papal supremacy. But the State having once lost sight of truth as its guiding object, ceased soon to be afraid of error, and favourably regarded any form of religion which could join in the common battle against the one great enemy. It excused, and justly excused, the foreign presbyterian communions, which had lapsed into a self-invented form of Church-government, not by choice, but by necessity;

and then it confounded with them others whose lapse had been arbitrary and wilful. And having learnt to regard the Church in England rather as a political engine than as an independent Apostolical Spirituality, whatever form of Church-polity was established in any other state was regarded with equal favour. And thus, not without remonstrances, and misgivings of conscience, and vain attempts to disguise the act almost by trickery and chicanery, the union with Scotland was effected; and the head of the British Empire pledged himself to the maintenance of schism, by the establishment of Presbyterianism in one part of his dominions, and of Catholic Episcopacy in another. This was the first overt act, from which has flowed the current of evil which is now threatening our ruin. And so long as this act of union stands upon our statute-book (and stand, apparently, it must, unless the present breaking-up of the Scotch establishment be a providential preparation for its removal), so long the present course of events must have its way, and the Civil Power must proclaim itself the creator of schism, the abettor of heresy, and the sower of general infidelity, before the face of its Christian subjects.

While, indeed, the great bulk of the English population was retained in its Church-membership, the evil remained dormant. But when a sudden growth of the manufacturing interest had gathered an enormous population round centres where the Church was unknown or powerless; and our towns had fallen under the control of an inferior middle-class, for which the Church had provided neither education nor connexion with herself; and the power thus engendered had been called into extraordinary activity by the spread of a democratical spirit; and the root of popery in Ireland, crushed for a time by the penal laws, but not eradicated in

the only way by which it can be eradicated, by the ministrations of an efficient, highly-organised, highly-instructed, and highly-popular Church, had sprung up with fresh vigour; and colonies had thrown themselves out, composed of the same discordant elements, which had been fostered in the seat of empire;—then the Civil Power found itself almost suddenly in the condition of a parent, who, having wedded two wives of different religions, should be surrounded by a progeny of conflicting sects, each clamorously demanding support against the other, and only joining in a common denunciation of the individual most favoured and defended. Or, to use words more awful, but not too awful, the legislature may bethink itself of that incestuous mixture typified by the poet in hell, and of

Those yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry
 Surround her hourly conceived,
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
 To her; for when they list, into the womb
 That bred them they return, and howl, and gnaw
 Her bowels, their repast; then bursting forth
 Afresh, with conscious terror vex her round,
 That rest or intermission none she finds.
 Before her eyes, in opposition, sits
 Grim Death, her son and foe, who sets them on.

Nor must it be supposed that the reasoning which would drive the Civil Power from the maintenance of an established religion is without its cogency. If the Church in England be, as it is supposed, a sect; that is, if, in either of the senses of the word *sect*, it be either a self-formed society, following a human leader of its own choice, or a section of Christians which has severed itself, or has been rightfully severed, from the body of the Catholic Church; if its creeds are either imagined by itself, or educed by its own interpretation from the Scriptures, without authority from a higher source; if its commission to teach

and to administer sacraments be a human expedient, not a Divine appointment; or if its claim to support be the accordance of its system with the opinions and interests of man, not the authority externally conferred on it by Heaven; if, in one word, it rests its strength on any thing but external historical testimony to the reality and the maintenance of its externally revealed and externally transmitted truth,—then the foundation of the Church rests upon opinion, the opinion of fallible men; and for opinion there is no available criterion but numbers. And a government derives no right to pronounce judgment from its possession of power, since power is no test of truth; nor from its alleged superiority of wisdom, since this also must be reduced to a question of opinion. And neither has it any right to draw a line of distinction by itself between essential doctrines of Christianity, which it resolves to retain, and supposed non-essential forms, which it is willing to abandon. No one, in a matter of Revelation, may presume to say what is important, and what is unimportant, where all alike is enforced by a positive institution of the Almighty. The State which has once receded from the strict externally-established order of episcopacy, and has framed or tolerated a novel form of Church-government upon the ground of opinion, cannot take its stand upon doctrine, or defend any truth whatever, even the vital fact of Revelation itself. If opinion be valid against one positive institution, it is valid against all. If, on the other hand, external Revelation and appointment be binding for an article of faith, it is binding for episcopacy. And thus, step by step, from outward form to inward principle; from the outskirts, as it were, of Christianity and of all religion, to its inmost heart and citadel, a State which has once abandoned its adherence to Apostolical tradition must be ne-

cessarily driven back—compelled to cast away, fragment by fragment, whatever offends any considerable section of its subjects—not logically justified in retaining any thing—and, at last, stripped of all its truth, its arms bound down, its tongue paralysed, and all its influence, if influence it can possess, turned in the defence and propagation of falsehood, blasphemy, and unbelief.

And how will the Christian meet such reasoning? He will deny the primary fact. He draws the distinction between the Church and other denominations of Christians, not by his own preference, or by any criterion of mere opinion, but by its external positive institution. He repudiates for it the title of a sect, as that which annuls its authority, and destroys its very existence; and he avows that he maintains it in the land,—not because it is expedient, or because he personally approves its doctrines, or because he is bound by a compact, or because to disturb it would unsettle the foundations of property throughout the nation, or with any thought that while its doctrines are affirmed to be true, doctrines which oppose it need not be charged with error,—that is, he maintains it not upon any of the false or futile grounds employed by statesmen of the day, but on the broad, plain, uncompromising declaration, that its doctrines and its ministry have alike been externally instituted by God; and that, as such, he dares not criticise, much less reject them, for mere inventions of man, like the tenets and practices of sectarianism, whether Protestant or Romish, whether it choose for its leader a bishop of Rome, or a Wesley, or a Whitefield, and for its doctrines a spurious modern tradition, or an avowed rationalism.

And yet, here he will be met by an objection, which it is necessary at once to examine. Granting, it is said, that the acknowledged supremacy of

opinion is thus fatal, how is it more excluded by referring to the private judgment the question of an external revelation and tradition, than the question of its internal fitness and goodness? In each case the individual must pronounce a judgment. Whether he pronounces on the reasonableness of the Athanasian creed, or on the fact of its containing Apostolical doctrine, and being constantly sanctioned by the confession of the universal Church, in each case he exercises private judgment. And private judgment once admitted, where is it to be arrested? How is its right exercise distinguished from mere opinion? And how can it be excluded from the acts of a responsible moral being, whose intellect, in this world, is given him for the very purpose of discriminating between truth and falsehood? The answer (and it is one far more deeply connected with our daily questions of life than would appear to one who does not perceive that the understanding and its primary laws are entwined with the foundations of our whole being, and that, therefore, a Christian Logic is an indispensable accompaniment of Christian Politics) —the answer is analogous to that which has already been given to a similar objection on the subject of choice or heresy. Private judgment, in the intellect, is like the exercise of the will, or choice, in the affections. And it is to be regulated by the same laws. We can no more exclude choice from the appetites, or judgment from the intellect, than we can exclude the appetites and intellect themselves from the nature of man. But over one must be maintained an external positive law, which it must obey; and over the other an external positive reality, to which it must conform. And it is by the omission or suppression of these, that appeals to private choice and private judgment generate heresy and unbelief, and destroy both morality and truth. Set before a child

questions of action, or questions of reasoning; and allow him to believe that he has nothing to consult, in the one case, but his own inclinations, and, in the other, but his own perceptions; abandon him, in the one case, to his passions, and, in the other, to his fancies; deny to him the existence, or the possibility of ascertaining, either a rule of duty or a criterion of truth, distinct from his own mind; and you make him a heretic and an infidel. But accustom him in every doubt to search for and adhere to an external standard, independent of his own fancies, and you create in him the principle of virtue and the spirit of truth.

But this purely external standard is found only in the Divine Nature and Mind; and this can only be made known to us by Revelation. And Revelation itself, to be exempted from every internal bias, and made purely external, must be conveyed to us, not through the opinions or feelings of man, but through that outward world of sense which stands over us, and surrounds us, and acts upon us, unshaken and immutable as a rock, whatever be our internal sensations. It must be conveyed through the world of sense, in forms "which we can hear and see." What "we have heard and seen," what "we have touched and handled," what has been realised to us as a part of the material world, in other words, external facts cognisable to the senses, to the common ordinary senses of mankind, must form the great evidence of a revelation. Hence the necessity of miracles. And when this revelation, once given, is to be transmitted and preserved in its identity through successive ages, still the same kind of external evidence must be employed; and what has been heard and seen, not what has been thought or felt, must guarantee its transmission. Hence the necessity of tradition; the necessity

that the faith once preached to the saints should be consigned to writing, as well as orally perpetuated in the memory, and that those writings and those oral creeds should be publicly and constantly promulgated together; that they should be embodied, as far as can be, in public acts, monuments, and ceremonies; that even the child should be able to witness to them from his cradle, and say, "This was the faith which I received from my parents, and this I am to transmit to my children as an unaltered and unalterable inheritance of truth from the earliest generations." And whenever the question of truth or falsehood can be submitted to the mind in this form, whether such or such be an external fact, then we need not fear to evoke any unhallowed spirit of private judgment. We do not deny the existence of independent external truth; we rather assume and enforce it in our appeal to the intellect. We point out to it its duty and its work. We shape the exercise of the reason, so as to improve and strengthen, not distort it. We incur little risk of being left without a true result, because where personal inclinations and fancies are excluded, the senses, even of the most uneducated, seldom play them false; and may easily be corrected by mutual comparison. And when error is the result, the responsibility rests not upon those who question, but upon those who answer. We are no parties to it. We have not put the lie into their mouths; as when we encourage them to think that they may read truth by the light of their own eyes only, and without searching for it in a world external to themselves.

And thus, when a statesman rests his support of his Church upon external revelation, guaranteed by external historical testimony to things which have been "heard and seen," he does not rest it upon that form of opinion, or private judgment, which is the

parent of heresy, and the subverter of all truth. He appeals only to that faculty which every responsible human being is called on by nature, and is compelled, to exercise. He appeals to it precisely as the laws appeal to an uneducated jury upon a question of fact; to uneducated witnesses, to common popular testimony, on any matter of history whatever. His belief of the truth of his creed, and of the Divine mission of his Church, is like his belief that there exists, on the other side of the British Channel, a country called France, governed by a king, though he has never seen him; or that a battle was fought on the plains of Marathon between Greeks and Persians; or that such or such a practice is part and parcel of the common law of the land; or that an hereditary monarchy is a maxim of the British constitution; or that certain rights and privileges have been perpetuated in any branch of the legislature. He knows it by external tradition; or, if ears unacquainted with the meaning of the word startle at its use, by external transmission—transmission so attested, so multiplied, so sealed and countersigned, so secured in writing, and written on the memory, so balanced, and corrected, and acknowledged by every variety of mind, that he who rejects it must reject the most accredited fact in history; and he who refuses to examine it is “sinning against light.” When a judge charges a jury, he does not bid them decide according to their fancy; he places the facts before them, and insists on their abiding by them. When a right of road is questioned in a court of justice, or a privilege of parliament is debated in the senate, no one proposes to settle it by opinion, but by prescription, by testimony to facts. And if the testimony be uncertain, then, as soon as possible, the legislature interferes to erect an external law to meet the case; because they know that when human

opinion is left free to wander and battle amidst vagueness and doubts, society must be torn to pieces. But when the question of religion is opened, then one and all agree to throw it open to this same opinion, as one on which no certainty exists, and in which it is presumptuous to pronounce. "I think," "I feel," "I approve," "I admire," "I have established, or propose to establish;" or, "I am ignorant and doubtful, and know no distinction between truth and falsehood," in a matter where truth and falsehood are the life or the death of the world,—this is the language to which we are now accustomed, even from those whom we are compelled to regard as, humanly speaking, almost the last hope of saving the whole empire from apostacy.

Nor is there any excuse in the plea, that this subject of historical tradition is one difficult of research. So is any question of constitutional law, or of private property. And yet neither judges nor ministers venture to decide on such matters by the words, "I think and I feel; but I have never examined the facts."

But let us go still further. It is not difficult of research. It is written in a few pages of history, legibly and palpably. Or rather, it requires no research, for the answer is avowed in the very face of the tribunal which professes itself incompetent to examine it. *Habemus confitentes reos*. And the confession is voluntary. And yet we refuse to say, we declare it impossible to ascertain, whether the act confessed has been committed. Dissent confesses of itself, that it does not adhere by tradition. It despises every criterion of truth but the judgment of the individual. Rome does the same. She guards, as the very apple of her eye, the power of altering and enlarging tradition—that is, of destroying it. She exempts even the tradition which she does main-

tain from the vital conditions for accrediting it, by the changes which she has wrought in the polity of the Church. The Church of England alone, in this country, even professes to preserve tradition, to adhere strictly to Apostolical creeds, to maintain unbroken the chain of an Apostolical ministry, to warn her posterity against any deflexion from the ancient Catholic Church.

It is as if three parties came into a court of justice, laying claim to an estate. One argued, that he thought and felt himself entitled to it, but could produce no vouchers. Another brought vouchers into court, but full of erasures and alterations, and avowed that he had made them himself, and had a right to make any which he pleased; because he alone was acquainted with the secret intentions of the testator. A third produced vouchers and witnesses, and appealed to the jury upon the simple question of external fact. And yet, when the judge gave his judgment, he gave it, not as a judgment upon the fact, but as an opinion upon probability or expediency, wholly irrelevant to the fact; or declared, that, in a matter of such difficulty, and requiring so much research, he cannot pronounce at all, and must leave the parties in full possession of their doubts and litigations for ever.

O Statesmen of England! O Conservatives, as you presume to call yourselves, of the constitution of society! you who look to fame as your reward in another generation! you who fancy that you stand in the great torrent of popular aggression, stemming its fury and directing its channel! what must be the curse and the scorn awaiting you, when the tower which you are undermining falls upon your head! and what an awful retribution is to come in that day, when He who committed to you, as Christians, His Revelation and His Church, wrapt

up in the one great talisman of His revealed faith—His one eternal, unalterable faith—demands that faith at your hands—and, with it, the souls of the blind, whom you have blinded like yourselves, and led into the pit!

Let us pause to consider, what is the real nature, and what must be the end, of such acts in political society. It may better prepare us to inquire how, under a blessing from Heaven, they may yet be avoided.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FIRST, then, a statesman who declares his incapacity to pronounce upon the one truth of religion in the midst of contending sects, and, still more, one who maintains a religion on any other ground than its exclusive truth, at a single blow both breaks himself, and instigates a nation to break, the whole of the first table of the law. He places himself in direct opposition to Almighty God in no fewer than five of His first commandments. What God commands, he forbids—what God asserts, he denies: and he does this in the face of the nation, and, as it were, from a throne, where every voice he utters weighs upon the destinies and acts of a whole empire.

The Almighty, in His first law, as the very foundation of all others, reveals the one unaltered, undivided truth of His nature, and commands us to maintain it. The statesman denies its existence, or the possibility of ascertaining it, or its paramount and primary obligation: he sets it aside. The Almighty, in His second law, warns us, by an awful menace, against permitting our own fancies and opinions to shape forth any idea of His nature different in the slightest degree from that which He has set before us. The statesman proclaims that fancies and opinions are the only standards by which we can image forth the God of truth, and offers them unlimited scope and indulgence. The Almighty, in His third law, denounces guiltiness on those who take His name in vain—who employ it, that is, as a means to any inferior object—who make

it secondary to any thing—who trifle or tamper with it. And the statesman declares that religion is supported by him solely as an instrument of police, or as a bulwark of human society. The Almighty, in His fourth law, lays on us a positive enactment, and in this establishes the principle of all positive commands and institutions; sanctioning them in the most solemn manner by the example of the Sabbath. And the statesman presumes to draw an arbitrary line between positive institutions and moral precepts: he makes light of episcopacy—of the ministerial succession—of apostolical usages—of sacraments—of Church orders; he sets them all aside as things indifferent, provided we reserve what he presumes to distinguish as the essential doctrines of Christianity; and thus he gives to the winds all the external system which a Hand Divine has framed for the preservation of His truth. He shatters the lamp, that he may keep alive the light. And the Almighty, in His fifth law, blesses with an especial blessing,—with the blessing of long life and permanent abidance,—reverence towards parents. And parents in His eye are not merely the authors of families, but the authors and progenitors of nations, and the fathers of His Church. And these—the whole line of glorious ancestry through which our national being, with all its interests and honours, and our spiritual life, with all its array of martyrs and saints, has come down to us—these the statesman repudiates and scorns, as an antiquated encumbrance, as men to whom he is unable to refer for either knowledge or guidance, and whom he scarcely dares to recognise, lest he should be mocked and taunted for prejudice and servility.

But having thus shivered to fragments the first table of the law, the statesman resolves to maintain firmly the second. Truth—Divine truth—and

Divine institutions, he thinks, may be discarded, without affecting the welfare of society; as he might think that reason may be lost, and yet the maniac remain in health. But theft, murder, adultery, false witness, are obviously and directly destructive. He would punish and prevent them. By what means? By positive law? But if the positive laws of God have been made null and void, who will regard them when laid down by man? But by manners? What manners and what morals can remain in men who have been taught by their legislators to despise truth—to apostatise from their faith—to deny their God and His laws—to dishonour their parents? But by the sanction of punishment? What punishments is man entitled to inflict, who can lay no ground for his actions except in the sands and quagmires of his own opinion and his own self-will? But by prudence—by the maxims of an enlightened self-interest? And are we indeed so blind as to think that self-interest is or ever can be, a law of human actions, when opposed to the passion or the appetite of the moment? If self-interest could rule and govern us, then, by the common confession of sinners, no man would sin. The threats and the certainty of hell are powerless against the desire of the moment, even in the most calculating intellect. How much more the contingencies of fortune, which are all that a human legislator can point to in hope as the rewards of virtue!

Let us not deceive ourselves. The first table and the second table are closely bound together,—as closely as truth and right—the head and the heart of man—his thoughts and his feelings—his feelings and his actions. One cannot be broken without the other. He who is guilty of one breach is guilty of all. And nations, like individuals, who

have cast off their true faith in God, will also cast off their duty to man. Of the same days it is said in prophecy, "When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith upon earth?" And in the last days, "men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God."¹ And as if summing up the only means of guarding against this torrent of evil, the Apostle, in speaking of these awful days, thus concludes, with a command to abide by those very principles which the legislators of this day have discarded: "Therefore, brethren, stand fast;" stand fast in the whole faith of the gospel; yield neither to the madness of the people, nor to the waverings of doubt or unbelief. And give no place to opinions, whether fancies of the mind, or fancied interpretations of the written word, but "hold the traditions which ye have been taught," the true unbroken apostolical traditions, whether in the common law or in the written words of the gospel,—“whether by word or our epistle.”

But besides individual minds, there is the fabric of society itself; and how is this affected by a latitudinarian creed in its rulers?

It is not merely affected—it is dissolved. It may hold together for a time, like a rubble-wall when the mortar has been eaten out, or a corpse when life has departed and air is excluded. But touch it, and it will crumble to dust.

In the first place, all moral power and authority is taken at once from the ruler. He who denies his God, God will alike deny. And he who holds a Di-

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 2.

vine commission will be cashiered by his Master, and trampled on by his fellow-servants, when he uses his office to dishonour Him who gave it.

"We believe," say contending sects to the legislature, which they would force into neutrality, "we feel deeply that religion is a matter so sacred, so awful, so nearly affecting our hearts, so vitally interwoven with our whole life, that we cannot endure upon it the slightest opposition, control, or contradiction. We are jealous of it with a godly jealousy. To declare it openly, to act upon it freely, to bear it before us in all our words and actions, we hold to be the first privilege and duty of man. You alone, our appointed ruler, are to be excluded from this right, and prohibited from professing your own creed. We will even impose upon you the residuum of our own faiths, by compelling you to deny whatever we severally object to. We will silence you, bind you hand and foot, hold you up to the world as one either ignorant of the most solemn truths, or too cowardly or interested to declare them, when you are menaced by those over whom you are placed to rule. And having thus made you despicable even in your own eyes, and stripped off the only covering of a Divine commission which can invest man with dignity, or hide his frailty, we will tread you under foot as we choose, and when we choose."

And this is done to bind together society in peace. When favouritism, as it is called, and exclusiveness, and monopoly, are removed, then contending sects will fall into harmony and concord. For all profess, at least, this one paramount object, however different the means of attaining it. And the union and communion of Christians, and the lulling the strife of tongues, is indeed a blessed end, for which Christians may well strive. But the question is not this, whether peace and union are to be sought, but

whether they ought to be purchased, or can by any possibility be purchased, by the sacrifice of truth ; whether they are not maintained more effectually by upholding certain distinctions and fixed lines of separation, than by breaking down and confusing all landmarks? When tigers are roaring at each other on either side of an iron-grating, the keeper does not think to restore quiet by loosing them into one cell ; and when parties are contending in a lawsuit for a right of ground, the judge does not order the fences to be levelled, that no more quarrels may arise ; and civil wars are not terminated by denying that the rights and titles to the sovereignty can be adjusted, but by affirming one claim and rejecting another ; and no controversy has ever been silenced by confession of ignorance in the arbitrator, but by a positive affirmation or negation. Once more we are met by the primary axiom of all truth—there can be no unity without plurality, no likeness without a difference, no harmony without distinction, no conjunction without separation, no peace without prescribed bounds and confined operations. Define and assert truth, and then disputants may be brought to rally round it ; circumscribe it, not by the opinions of man, not by any arbitrary test of fundamentals and non-fundamentals, but by a positive external rule, equally removed from the fancies of all men ; and you leave no room for jealousy or envy. Resolve, and shew yourselves resolved, to maintain it as a sacred and inviolable treasure, and you crush, as far as they can be crushed, the busy restless contests of speculation. Fix it before the eyes of all whom you would influence, as an external fact, and as the great law and object of life, and, so far as example can prevail, you impress on them a solemnising, quieting, religious, self-distrusting earnestness in its pursuit,

which will never run into irritability or passion through that impatience of opposition which follows on conceit, as conceit follows on the absence of external law, and the absence of external law on the rule of opinion.

And if these, the abstract laws of controversy, are unintelligible or disbelieved, let us turn to facts. Let the legislator ask himself, of all the contending denominations of religion, which one he hopes to soothe and reduce to peace and concord by denying his own faith,—which of the combatants (for so he calls them) will lay down their arms, when the only power that can control their turbulence or decide their differences has been prevailed on by them to withdraw or to remain neutral? Is it any who bear the name of Christianity,—that Christianity, on which, by the most solemn command of our Lord, proselytism has been enjoined as its especial work upon earth, to preach one truth, to bring all men into one fold, to denounce and eradicate all error, to carry on an unceasing war against the powers of darkness? Is it the Church Catholic of England, which, in addition to the common zeal and energy of a religious and Christian faith, possesses also that which alone can give to it permanence and organised force, an external immutable foundation for its belief, and an external unalterable appointment for its ministrations? Has the Church of England, since the legislature has begun to fall away from it, shewn any symptom whatever of quiescence under the recognition of the principle of indifferentism? Or has it roused itself with tenfold vigour to combat it, and to reconquer error? Will the Church of Rome acquiesce, whose very existence is involved in the claim of universal dominion? Will any sect whatever give up its arms, silence its lips, abandon its proselytism, join

with the State in proscribing a preference to any one peculiar form of doctrine or religious association? Or is it not the very essence of sectarianism to force upon others what it maintains itself; or, if this cannot yet be accomplished, at least to extort from its opponents, as from the State, whatever offends it? Is not the intolerance of sectarianism a recognised and universal fact? It is, indeed, a dream to think that, in this state of the world, men can be made by any act to live together without disputes and battles; but even such a dream is wisdom, compared with the hope of extinguishing dissensions by denying truth, and of uniting Christians in one body by reducing the rulers of the body to infidelity and treachery.

But one end awaits society when its rulers have abandoned their adherence to one positive faith, and that end is, to be torn to pieces by the struggles of fanatical opinions.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BUT let us proceed farther. With sins, the most grievous of all sins, upon its conscience; with a curse from God hanging over its head; with neither self-respect to support, nor the respect of its subjects to encourage it, nor example of past ages to justify, nor the advice of past wisdom to guide; standing before the world with a confession either of ignorance on the most vital of all questions, or of unfaithfulness in the most solemn of all duties,—the Civil Power is then compelled, after all, to undertake its natural functions. It cannot escape from them. Those who would strip it of its religious faith may tell it that it has no such duties; that it is only a common association, a joint-stock company; that its business is to purvey food, and impose taxes, and discuss excise and customs, and that it need no more trouble itself with the minds and the souls of its subjects than (as they falsely assert) the governors of a bank need examine the theological doctrines of their servants. But words cannot crush facts; and the reality, a frightful reality, comes before it in a thousand shapes, and will not be repulsed. It rises up in the form of a rebellious peasantry, who must be reduced to order and obedience, not by the sword of the dragoon, but by the voice of the preacher—of a starving, emaciated, demoralised, manufacturing population, whom it must rescue from the fangs of a relentless gambling avarice, but whom it cannot rescue by the wax and parchment of the statute-book, but solely by a religious education. It is heard

in the stern voice of the Church, denouncing its misdeeds and its follies, and answered by the inborn affections and the natural reason of every genuine Christian. The dependencies of the empire are in revolt—revolt engendered and fostered by the hands of a foreign religion—and, if the empire is to be saved from dismemberment, that religion must be driven from the mind and the heart of a whole people. And at length we have learnt that it cannot be extirpated by the civil arm, by penal laws, or political intrigues. It must be conquered and suppressed by the light of truth: and even the civil power is compelled to have recourse to at least the moral education of a whole nation. And then, even from the very voices which have clamoured down and denounced all the nobler aspirations of the legislature, there rises a cry of poverty, a plea of want, and a petition that the State will assist them in educating those whom they are misleading. The theory is blown to atoms by the facts, and the legislator is constrained to acknowledge, that, whatever be the law of union in other subordinate societies, to political society at least is committed the whole nature of man, all his being, with all his hopes, even by the very supremacy of its power; and that it is responsible to Almighty God for the souls as for the bodies of its subjects, and cannot even preserve its own existence without making their souls, and not their bodies, its primary and paramount object.

It confesses this truth by the self-same act which denies it. Its public apostacy from a religious faith, and its acknowledgment of its own spiritual duties, is sealed by one and the same deed—its tampering with national education. We cannot maintain the Church, the State declares, in its exclusive education of the people, because we are incompetent to pronounce in disputes on moral and religious truth; and

we will undertake that education ourselves because we alone are able to decide them. It does more : it discards all right in man to interfere in theological questions ; to draw lines between truth and falsehood ; to say what in the eyes of the Almighty is essential and non-essential. It denounces this as presumptuous dogmatism, or idle speculation. The very assertion of a positive, strict, defined religious creed, or of an unbroken external commission to teach and nurture souls, is, in its eyes, a crime ; and the next moment it proceeds to commit this crime itself, to pronounce on what is essential and what is non-essential, by declaring that souls may be educated without any articles of faith—that the Bible alone is necessary—and that none, so far as it can provide, shall be encouraged to educate the people, who do not derive their commission from the external authority of the State. The Secretary of State does now that which in apostolic ages required a solemn assemblage of the universal Church. He does, by a stroke of his pen, that which œcumenical councils dared not do till after the most profound deliberations, and prayers for the guidance of the Holy Spirit ; and he directs that pen by his own arbitrary will and fancy, where the greatest saints, and martyrs, and doctors of the whole of Christendom, have bound themselves and generations to come, by the most awful sanctions, to admit not the deviation of an iota from the revealed declaration of God, ascertained by a searching scrutiny of external historical testimony. The Secretary of State is now the author of the (so-called) Christian creed ; and this creed is the Bible. So much of the whole Christian system he takes upon himself to pronounce true ; with the teaching of this he considers it possible to retain the name, if not the reality, of a Christian education. All other controversies of faith are open questions,

have undertaken to draw up the Christian creed, and thus to prescribe the terms of salvation; so now he undertakes to frame a new Bible for the people of God.

But I pass on to another fact, on which there can be no evasion.

The Bible is to be taught; but the Bible may be wrested into various meanings; and upon those meanings, not upon the Divine authority of the Bible, the battles of sects and controversialists have been fought. All heresies and schisms are contests for the interpretation of the words of the Bible. And when the civil power has thought to purchase the peace of the combatants by bringing them to unite in reading the Scriptures, leaving the interpretation undecided, it has acted like a judge who should propose to terminate a lawsuit by recognising the authenticity of the documents appealed to, but refusing to determine any thing of the sense which they should bear.

When the Bible is to be taught, it must be meant that not mere words—not a jargon of unintelligible sounds—but some definite facts and doctrines should be impressed upon the mind. Questions will be asked by the pupil, and they must be answered by the teacher. And what are the instructions given to him? What must be the instructions given, when the teacher is under an obligation to teach, as they are called, no peculiar doctrines of any denomination of Christians, but only the natural meaning of words, which have been framed by inspiration for the very purpose of conveying peculiar doctrines,—that is, doctrines, not upon natural religion, or the vague generalities of ethics, but upon those very points of controversy which, as most vitally interwoven with the whole system of Christianity and the whole nature of man, have roused the most ardent feelings,

and consequently the most violent opposition. The Bible is full, it is entirely composed of peculiar doctrines. From the book of Genesis to the book of Revelation it is a history of the Church—an expansion of its creeds, a prophecy of its fortunes, a warning against those very sins of indifferentism and lukewarmness, which the civil power is perpetrating and encouraging. You cannot reduce it to any vague form, even by disembowelling it of its more obviously doctrinal portions, and treating its history like the heathen records of Rome and Greece. Even then its miracles cannot be disentangled from its facts; nor its facts from their typical bearing and doctrinal illustration.

When, therefore, the pupil demands the meaning of words, which the teacher must empty of all their controversial significancy, only two expedients are possible. One is, to give no answer, or at least to wrap up the answer in such a mist of words as to leave it more unintelligible than the original difficulty. The other is, openly and fairly to lay before the child all the different interpretations which have been contended for, and to leave it to the child himself to decide between them. There might seem, indeed, a third course, the most true, and the most honest—to declare ignorance at once. But, then, what becomes of the right of education? And in the other alternative, the civil power has, in its written publications, chosen the second course; and, carefully forcing upon the child the fact that differences and disputes do exist, refers the settlement of the controversy to the child's own mind; while in the oral instruction it surrounds the teacher with so many warnings and denunciations against conveying a positive meaning—the meaning which he believes in himself—as ultimately to reduce him to silence.

Such, then, is the spectacle presented by the only system of education practicable for the State, when it has thrown off its own strict allegiance to the Church—the spectacle of the State itself, in all the maturity of its outward strength and omnipotence, humbling itself before infancy, as in the blindness and dotage of ignorance, and, in the very act of professed control, giving up the reins of guidance, on all that is vital to man, to the child who stands at its feet, wondering, and bewildered, and at last, when he comes to think, hardened in imbecility and unbelief.

One course, indeed, remains, by which, at first sight, escape from this melancholy issue may seem practicable.

It is, to exclude from education the whole subject of religion—to abandon the Bible as well as the creeds—the name of Christianity as well as the communion of the Church; and to confine instruction to the cultivation of the understanding, and to morality. For morality must be included. It is not because subjects are clumsy handicrafts, or dull accountants—not because they are ignorant of geometry, or mathematics, or geology—but because they rob, and burn, and murder, and rebel, that the State is compelled to educate them.

But, once more, morality itself includes religion. The same law of conscience which enforces our duty to man enforces our duty to God. They cannot be separated. Moreover it rests upon religion, and not on religion only, but on revealed religion, and on its positive institutions. The ten commandments, to have any efficacy, must be taught as positive, not as moral laws; as owing their sanction and obligation, not to the reason or inclination of the criminal on whom they are imposed, but to the external authority of the Lawgiver. All moral laws

whatever are so taught, and must be so taught, to children; and when those children grow up, and inquire for another authority beyond that of their parents, if it be not found in the voice of God, and in that voice independent of human fancies and interpretations, it will be powerless. Man cannot rule man by human power alone. And the State which has abandoned its definite and exclusive Church-communion, must next abandon not only the vague religion which it would still retain, but the vague morality which it is compelled to inculcate.

One hope still remains—the cultivation of the understanding alone, without giving to the mind any peculiar bias whatever, or prejudicing it in favour of any moral or religious sect or doctrines; so that all sects and all doctrines alike may, for a time, lay aside their differences, and resort to a common instructor in secular science. And, it is asked triumphantly, if an assent to the Athanasian creed be required for the study of the law, or the practice of medicine; whether soldiers cannot be drilled, and artisans be exercised in their trade, without touching on controversial polemics? And the answer is, that as you cannot teach a false theology without infusing comprehensive errors, which will finally but inevitably eat their way down into the very extremities, into the lowest and meanest parts of the human frame,—as the fountain of life once poisoned, will infect all the water that flows from it,—as the divergence of a hair's breadth from a straight line will run out into an infinite diversity; so, on the other hand, you cannot teach the meanest art, you cannot instruct a ploughman in ploughing, or a ditcher in ditching, without impressing upon his mind tendencies and principles—the very highest principles of all truth, or falsehood, which insensibly will prepare his mind for the adoption of his religious communion.

Ultimate truths and particular facts, even the most petty and trifling facts, are connected, as the reason with the individual action, as the vital principle in the body with its manifestation in the limb. You cannot affect one without affecting the other. They are inseparably wrapt up together.

How is the child to be instructed, except by an instructor, and by an instructor armed with authority, who, at that age, stands to him as his ruler—as the being whom he must respect, imitate, love, and regard as the visible representative of that moral Power which stands over him invisibly in the universe? How are the feelings with which he is taught to regard this being—whether they are feelings of contempt, or feelings of reverence—how can they be prevented from biasing his mind to a similar tone and habit in other similar relations hereafter—relations to his spiritual teachers, and to his God? How can he be made to attain skill without practice; or to practise without blindly attempting what he is commanded, though he does not understand it,—in one word, without faith? And how is he, who has learnt faith in the exercise of an art, to escape from the application of the same principle in his reception of religion? Or how can he respect his instructor in art, without inclining to respect and imitate him in other points,—if his teacher exhibit practical religion, without contracting, in some degree, the same tone of piety,—if he tamper with religion, without tampering with religion likewise,—if he act as an infidel, or sceptic, without becoming an infidel and sceptic himself? In other words, how is the task of instruction to be secured from the contagion of example? You teach the merest child, in the most trivial of lessons, to set before himself an external law and model, imposed on him, not invented by him; and to regard his

conformity with that external standard as his chief excellence and perfection. You make him receive this external model upon authority, and you confirm that authority by testimony—that is, you teach him, and cannot but teach him, the very principles for which the Catholic Church has contended for eighteen centuries, against rationalism and self-will, and which, if valid in secular art, are valid for religious truth. And if you omit this, the child becomes a fool. And yet you think that you are escaping from the injustice or the sin of prejudicing his mind. You are compelled, even in intellectual instruction alone, to speak of indolence, of thoughtlessness, of wilfulness, of ignorance, as more than misfortunes—as faults—and to threaten them with punishments; and to reward the opposite virtues. And every vice whatever, as it unnerves the mind, and dissipates the attention, and induces stubbornness, or conceit, or petulance, or dulness, is amenable to your censures as an instructor. For if the head guides the heart, the heart also guides the head. And thus, willingly or unwillingly, you are compelled to enter on the province of morals—to admit distinctions of right and wrong, even amidst mathematical abstractions, and, with such questions, to bear also the intrusion of those holy instincts of childhood, which see where maturer minds are often blind, and hear what they cannot hear; which you cannot silence by the sophistry of expediency, or stifle because they are shut up in the secrecy of the child's bosom—which will reason from a teacher upon earth to a God in heaven, and from the rod here to a hell hereafter; and in which the germ of faith is fixed so deeply, that no human power can tear it up, though we may distort it into superstition, or compel it to seek nourishment in falsehood, when denied its proper food in external revealed truth.

And all this will soon be discovered; and any religious community which entertains the slightest care for the souls of its children, will refuse to entrust them, even in secular arts and in the most restricted system of instruction, with teachers who are not members of the same communion with themselves. They will learn, that even ordinary association, in the common intercourse of life, with those whom we believe, and who believe ourselves to be, in a state of heathenism, or heresy, or schism, and therefore under the wrath of God, is most perilous and criminal, and can only be justified either by unavoidable necessity, or by a desire to bring those who are erring within the pale of the truth. United education may be endured by some, so long as it encourages a hope, not of suppressing proselytism altogether, but of confining it to themselves, and gives an opportunity of undermining an antagonist communion; as Popery has often prayed for an unlimited toleration of heresies, that it may ultimately obtain power to establish the Inquisition. But the moment this hope is cut off, an universal condemnation and contempt will rise from every mouth which has a religious faith to profess; from every parent who believes in a God, and desires that his children should believe in Him also. They will learn and see, by the low and demoralising influences which will insensibly creep into the whole of such a system, that not even a secular instruction can be good, which is not based upon, as well as accompanied with, religious truth; in which religious truth is not made the great law, and standard, and guide throughout. And they will find, by a sad experience, that, instead of excluding religion, lest it end in discord, such a system brings in religion even where the most earnest piety would shrink from obtruding it—forces it into every subject—teaches it in the most palpable and potent

form — but so as to breed only contempt for God, and hatred to man.

When society would crush and destroy a member, upon whom they would set a mark of infamy, they refuse to speak of him or to him. Their silence kills. And so it is with religion. It is proscribed and suppressed. Wherefore? Because, either there is no truth in it, or its truth is not discoverable, or has not yet been discovered by those who, as instructors, stand before the boy with all the claims of experience and wisdom. Neither question nor answer can be stifled or evaded. And yet this is to be silent on religion. Is it not rather to pronounce on it — to pronounce on its vital and fundamental axiom, to force its denial into every act, to exhibit it before the world engraven in gigantic letters legible to the merest child?

Add, that nothing so provokes curiosity and loquacity in the young, as a mysterious reserve, or avowed ignorance, on the part of the teacher. Add, that this system, in its present shape, though framed upon the one grand principle of excluding controversial theology, while with one hand it casts away the creeds, with the other drags day by day into the very school-room, not merely inanimate forms, but the living disputants themselves; sets before the very eyes of the young the spectacle of antagonist sects, each maintaining its own faith, and denying all others; compels these antagonist teachers to discuss more largely, and to enforce more strongly their several peculiar doctrines, in a place where they are so liable to be forgotten or endangered. Remember that, even if this fatal spectacle were withdrawn,—this most grievous of stumbling-blocks and offences to the little ones of Christ,—still there remain the home and the house of worship; and there, unless the young are never to hear of God, they will

hear of Him under the only form in which He is acknowledged by their parents; they will learn no such maxim as that of the school-room, that religious differences are nothing, and religious truth a dream; rather they will be taught, each and all, with all the force and energy of an earnest belief and awakened conscience, that one great truth,—the only truth in which all sects agree, and which, in their catalogue of acknowledged doctrines, the planners of an united education have wholly overlooked,—that there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one Church; that truth cannot be manifold; that a doctrine cannot be true without stamping its contradiction as false; that what each sect or community professes is true, the only true; and that all others are in such vital error, that they are excluded from the visible Church on earth, if not from salvation in heaven.

And with this truth stamped upon their hearts, the young will come before the Civil Power in the person of their secular instructor, to hear that all such exclusive pretensions are arrogant dogmatism; that the most opposite opinions may all be true; that Christians should live together in mutual amity without thinking of their union in Christ; that they can be entitled to the name and privileges of Christians while they are violating Christ's solemn commands, rending His garments, and putting Him to open shame by their dissensions and schisms; and that the only creed acknowledged by their instructor is, to reject every opinion which any other schismatic rejects before him. The Parent and the Spiritual Guide stand on one side, and the Civil Power on the other; and which will the child follow? He cannot follow one without despising the other. And on whom will the contempt fall? Earnestness, energy, faith, warm-heartedness, authority, religious

feeling, religious practice, even when they are accompanied with error, come home to the heart and fascinate the affections. But the timid, vacillating, negative voice of the State, full of self-contradictions and embarrassment, cold without solidity, and temporising without prudence, proclaiming no truth, animating no feeling, enjoining only moral impossibilities—to love where there is nothing lovely, and to worship we know not what,—the sceptical, infidel State, the defender of every heresy, and promoter of every schism, what can it meet but scorn? What can follow but the entire disruption of every principle of loyalty and obedience? Even if it triumphs for a time, this end must come at last. For it can triumph only by annihilating the authority of the parent and of the spiritual guide, and leaving the child to himself, floating on a sea of doubt, and bewildered in a thick darkness, and finally throwing himself for peace either into a reckless career of profligacy, or into the arms of some extravagant communion, which extinguishes the pain of doubt by superseding it with the blindness of fanaticism.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THIS question of national education has been dwelt upon at length, not only as the most prominent exhibition of a national apostacy from the Church, but as one of the most noxious and subtle forms in which the anti-Christian spirit has disguised itself; since it undermines the foundation of all truth whatever. And although an universal and most righteous protest has been made against it in various parts of the empire, the protest has not always been rested on its strongest grounds. The system is to be denounced rather from its negation of a creed, than as an exclusion of the Scriptures. One charge may be denied or evaded, the other cannot. And when it is denounced, as it should be by every Christian tongue, let us beware of mixing up the censures of the system with censures on its authors. Destitute of the knowledge, destitute of a firm belief in the importance of the external historical testimony to the exclusive doctrines of the Church—left for years with nothing but internal evidence, the evidence of their own reasoning and their own heart, the statesmen of the 19th century could scarcely fail to place the Church on a par with the sects of dissent and the schism of Romanism—as resting, like them, upon mere opinion. And with this first step all the others are inevitable. There could be no retreat. But that they have been so left, and so miserably instructed in the first rudiments of their religion, is rather the fault of the Church than of themselves. The silence, the neglect, of the Church is now visited upon its

own head; and confession of our own past sins is more fitting the Christian character, than reprobation of those who have been nurtured up under our instruction, to become now the unconscious ministers of God's vengeance upon their teachers.

But let us touch on a few other instances where a desecrated, creedless, churchless State is compelled to undertake its natural functions, and yet finds itself paralysed, or powerful only for evil. "The poor shall never be removed from the land." Poverty, in some shape or other, is an essential condition of political society, and it will increase in proportion with the accumulation of money; because capital has always a tendency to drain and absorb into itself all the lesser springs of wealth by its command over labour, and competition will drive wages down to the lowest possible prices. But these questions, and the whole theory of national wealth, require to be examined at length; and a Christian political economy would form a necessary appendage to Christian politics, and must be reserved for such a place.

But, as a fact, the mass of poverty has now swelled in this country to a pitch which threatens to overflow and devastate society itself. With a free trade and a manufacturing system it could not be otherwise. The interference of the legislature is demanded. All eyes are turned to its omnipotent arm; and it proceeds to act. It gathers under its protection the starving, houseless, miserable beings, whom the avarice of their employers has called into existence by the demand for labour, and then left them to perish in the fluctuations of employment, or has reduced them to the minimum of subsistence, and therefore to demoralisation and despair. But it is compelled to gather them in masses, by broad palpable lines of distinction; because the State has no delicate discriminating eyes, none of the finer organs of prehension and selection,

which are required to separate between the bad and the good; the industrious and the idle; the poverty which is a fault, from that which is misfortune; that which demands consolation, from that which requires chastisement; the improving from the reprobate and lost. Its seat of action is too far removed to penetrate into the cottage and the hovel, to hear the tale of distress, and to balance degrees of indiscretion, or suffering, or crime. And no instruments can it create to execute such a task, because it can retain them by pay only, and hired servants can have neither the feeling nor the zeal to attempt it well. There is, indeed, in every parish one or more persons, of whose sacred and appointed functions it is an especial part to care for the poor—the servants of a Divine Master who was born in a stable and laid in a manger; who, as far as personal enjoyment is concerned, are themselves pledged to poverty; whose office it is to watch over the souls of those around them, and therefore to discriminate characters; who can give alms without degrading the receivers; who can add to them a double grace and double comfort by words of blessing and advice; who are solemnly devoted to this work, whether the State employ their services or not; and who, by the ministrations of religion, can render even destitution tolerable, and raise even idleness and profligacy to an honest and respectable industry. The clergy are the clergy for the poor. Their very establishment in the possession of their own regular appropriated funds exempts them from requiring of their flock the maintenance which the Scriptures authorise, and which is always found to be exacted irregularly, or even sternly, from the poor, where the so-called voluntary system prevails, and the teachers are left dependent on the caprices of the taught.

If a heathen political philosopher could see such a machinery existing and in operation, how would he bless its author, and envy the nation in which it was established! Alas! he would be told by the State, that to the State it was useless. The State cannot employ it, because alms are given by a Christian as a religious offering in a religious spirit; and to entrust any exclusive religious power in the hands of the clergy, would be to acknowledge the truth of one creed, and the error of those which differed from it. The clergy must be set aside; and the poor must be fed and clothed by a Board of Poor-Law Commissioners, who have no religious preference whatever. What follows? Destitute of the means of discriminating character, and justly afraid of encouraging every kind of vice and evil by an indiscriminating charity, they are compelled, I will not say to regard poverty as a crime, but to deal with it as if it were such; to reduce their alms down to the lowest possible point at which life can be maintained—life without hope, without dignity, without enjoyment, without possibility of improvement—one stern, cheerless, dreary, dismal protraction of imprisonment and privation, that all may be discouraged from approaching it. Whether it be from prudence towards the poor, or from selfish economy for itself, the civil power cannot hold out any alms, which are not wrung and counted out like drops of blood, and given with a curse, the curse of niggardliness and reproach, rather than with a blessing.

But the necessity of economy and privation renders another step equally necessary. The home cannot be permitted to remain; expenses cannot be curtailed, nor enjoyments restricted, where the poor are allowed to expend what they receive in the bosom of their families; and therefore they must be gathered together under one roof. Oh, how thwarted

nature and despised truth will avenge themselves at last; and, if we refuse to receive and honour them in their genuine forms, will compel us to fall down and worship some deformed idol, which we erect, without knowing it, after their mutilated image! It is necessary that some men be poor. It may be good for us all to abandon wealth, even if we are not abandoned by it. And social life is a blessing: and for those who have no firesides, it is charity to provide a home, after the model of a family, where they may live under a wise and merciful restraint, and have their affections developed and their energies exercised, and even accomplish many a grand and noble work, by united labour, which cannot be attempted by individuals. And labour, even bodily labour, is full of health, and has no degradation when sanctified by humility and honesty. And fasting was the practice of saints, and the discipline even of our Lord. So thought wise men of old, who founded religious houses. They sinned, indeed, in many things; they violated many a rule of the Church, as of right reason; but in forming religious corporations of the poor, they left to us an example, which, if we would save the empire from ruin, we must ourselves soon follow. Their edifices were overthrown, plundered, and held up to indiscriminate hatred and scorn at the Reformation. They have been made ever since a by-word, as the great blot upon an age of darkness, and as a name of reproach. And in the nineteenth century, when we boast of having receded so far from such ignorance and superstition, that we cannot possibly relapse to it, suddenly, at the call of the most vague latitudinarianism, there rise up on every side vast houses and refuges of the poor, maintained not by religious alms, but by extorted taxes; and containing in their system almost every circumstance which

has been either wrongly ridiculed by the bad, or justly condemned by the good, in the system of monasticism ; omitting only that which commanded the reverence of all — religion.

There is poverty, but forced, not voluntary ; privation and fasting, but reluctant sufferings, not self-denying and repentant discipline. There is seclusion from the world without contemplation, or any of the benefits of retirement. There is endless, hopeless fixedness of lot, but rivetted by the denial of all means of improving the condition, not by vows, which, however erroneously taken, were at least dignified by their sacredness. There is labour, wasted and unproductive ; society, without any bond of union but common degradation and restraint ; dependence upon others, but on their grudging penuriousness, not on their benevolence and love. There is celibacy, or a compulsory disruption of the marriage-ties, but with no holy thoughts or high aspirations to purify and guard it from crime. There is a breaking up of the family and the home, but without creating any community of love to supply its place. There is a badge stamped upon all inmates, separating them from the rest of their fellows, but neither holding up before the world a memorial of higher duties and purer feelings than the world at large permits, nor giving dignity and elevation to them who bear it, but branding them with a mark of infamy, as the paupers of a poor-house. And there are no duties to animate or dignify. Shame, but not for sin — fear, but not of God — inactivity without repose — labour without hope — ignominy without self-reproach — and punishment without crime ; such are the essential and inseparable characteristics of a system which gathers together the good and the bad into one abode of poverty, and feeds, and clothes, and shelters, and

employs them by the hands, not of the Church, but of the State.

For religion is excluded ; or, if admitted, it can come before them only in the rare and grudging ministrations of a single chaplain ; set side by side with the authorised teaching of others, who denounce his doctrines as false, and his commission as invalid. Heresy and schism, and, following on them, unbelief, must pursue the civil power, even into the poor-house. And the last refuge for its miserable inhabitants, the belief in a God and the hopes of heaven, must be shut against them by the distractions of doubt and controversy, which the State, instead of excluding, forces on them ; which it brings into their very home—gathering the war of words and the strife of tongues, as before round the bewildered child, so now in the ear of the ignorant, the aged, the sinful, the miserable, the hard of heart, the bereaved and the friendless, the dull and dead of hearing and understanding, even round the decay of sickness, and the agonies of the death-bed. The State will acknowledge no exclusive truth in religion, and listen to no controversies, because truth is full of doubt, and controversies the destruction of peace ; and therefore the miserable pauper is compelled by it to listen to them himself, and to end where the State begins, in disbelieving all that he hears.

Let us turn to another point. If the body politic be an organisation of families, not a mere aggregation of individuals, the welfare and right organisation of the family is essential to the well-being of the nation. Whatever loosens domestic obligations, or tampers with domestic affections, must sooner or later end in the destruction of political society. There is as close a connexion between the despotism of the Turk and the harems of his subjects, and be-

tween the public crimes of Athens and the private profligacy of Athenian homes, as between the colour and hardness of stones and the appearance and solidity of the building constructed of them.

Perhaps it is chiefly through the home that Christianity has wrought its elevating and purifying effects upon the nation—raising the wife, consecrating the parent, emancipating the slave, hallowing every act, and scene, and relation of domestic life by its typical and mysterious connexion with the whole of the vast scheme of Revelation; and restoring a healthy and invigorating atmosphere to the small but important nursery of those habits and affections in the child, which are afterwards to be exercised in a developed not altered form, and upon vaster, scarcely upon different objects, in the wide sphere of the nation and of the Church both visible and invisible. And where Christ has laboured with a blessing, there Anti-Christ will labour with a curse. Accordingly, the same spirit of evil which compels a State to abandon its exclusive faith and Church-communion, compels it also to desecrate and undermine the family. It begins with the rite of marriage, one which even the most worldly nations have been anxious to consecrate with the greatest awe, lest its obligations and solemnity should be depreciated, and man should sink into the same state with the beasts of the field. It has been made, or rather has been perpetuated from the beginning as a ceremony of religion. And this religious character is especially necessary as a safeguard to the weaker sex, who, without it, must be at the mercy of man's sensuality, and be soon reduced to a state of oriental degradation, if not to worse. But with the repudiation of one exclusive creed, the politician must also repudiate one exclusive Church. And with this he must abandon the whole of that solemn mystery,

the parent germ and grandest type of all society, the doctrine of the spiritual union between Christ and Christians, the Head of the body and its members. With this perishes the peculiar and awful sanctity of Christian marriage. And with this, so far as the State can prevail, perishes also the chief solemnising and purifying influence of Christianity upon the family, and of the family upon the nation. Where it is still retained, it is retained by the voice of the Church, in defiance and in utter condemnation of the State. But as far as the State could operate, it has thrown back the family-tie into heathenism.

But the State cannot confine itself to a mere negation of doctrine. In self-defence it must legislate upon the subject of marriage, and discriminate between valid and invalid unions, if only to guard and define the transmission of property. And how is it to make this distinction, when a vast body of its subjects have severed themselves from the Church Catholic—when the State itself, carried away by the stream, hesitates to recognise the Church as the one appointed minister of God's spiritual blessings—and still both heretics and schismatics, like heathens, must live in the ties of marriage, as before the publication of the gospel. The rite of marriage must be altered by the authority of the State. For no one would compel either the Church to bless schismatics, who are in rebellion against her, or schismatics to receive a blessing from the Church which they despise. Those who live without the Church must be married without the Church.

But something is still left to a Christian and a Catholic State, even in this emergency, if it desire to retain its faith. It may establish a purely civil rite for those whom it is compelled to recognise as married for purely civil purposes. It may still admit the blessing of the Church, and its solemn cere-

monial, as a sufficient attestation and sanction for the union of members of the Church. And all others it may deal with simply as amenable to the civil magistrate, without recognising or admitting, in any way, the propriety or validity of any religious self-invented rites which they might choose to append to it. And in this way it would neither abandon its own principle, nor insult the Church, nor violate the conscience of schismatics.

But this would be the act of a State who, though compelled to modify many of its practices by the prevalence of dissension, still honoured the Church of Christ, and upheld His truths. England has advanced farther. She has acted, not as one compelled by the sins of others to modify her external institutions, but as spontaneously and gratuitously proclaiming her own negation of the faith. She has solemnly recognised the religious ceremony of any little knot of householders who can agree to invent a new faith, or a new form of worship, and has placed it on a par with the blessing of the Church. She has thus reduced the whole religious obligation of the rite of marriage to a question of opinion. Instead of boldly announcing that one form is true, and all others false, one right, and all others wrong, she has declared that all may be true and all right; or, in other words, that there is neither truth nor right, and that the whole religious obligation of marriage is a delusion. She has not yet, indeed, formally proclaimed the judgment of a single individual to be the measure of all things. This is yet to come. As yet it requires the consent of twenty householders to constitute truth, frame a creed, and establish a sound religion. But why twenty? Why not one?

With this comes naturally a tampering with the relationships of marriage. While a State is a mem-

ber of the Church, it adopts the restrictions of the Church on the subject of incestuous unions—restrictions founded on the positive laws of God, and not, therefore, at the mercy of opinion. But these positive laws once abandoned, there is nothing to prevent opinion from gradually throwing down all the barriers which both the better, purer instincts of human nature and views of expediency demand, and at last sanctioning, or permitting, any form of incest, however horrible. One attempt has been made already, and has met with only a faint opposition. Nor can any opposition be successful, but such as can be offered by the Catholic Church in her adherence to positive institutions, upon historical testimony; a line of argument which the civil power cannot adopt, or even tolerate, without abandoning at once its present principles, and returning to one faith and one Church, and that faith and that Church as exclusive as truth and goodness, as justice and as heaven.

Once more. The same principles of obedience which regulate the relation of governors and governed in the nation, will regulate all similar subordinate relations. The subject, who is taught to regard his sovereign as one set over him by God, and to honour and submit to him on this ground of a positive institution, not of mere personal feeling or expediency, will recognise in his parents also a like authority. Where kings rule by commission from the Almighty, there children kneel to receive a blessing from their parents. With the Rebellion this practice ceased in England. And where society is made a mere matter of convention, there children and parents alike are at liberty to consult their own supposed convenience; and there laws are necessary to protect children from infanticide and desertion, and parents from neglect and starvation in the in-

firmities of age. Locke's theory of the home and of the State are necessary parts of one and the same system. Once destroy the authority of positive external law, by denying a positive external truth, and all the reciprocal duties and obligations of life slide away into feelings and affections, and those feelings and affections, in the corrupt soil of the human heart, soon pass into passions and vices, bearing their fruit in death. Look to the state of the parental relation in this country now, and compare with it the spirit of a former time. Examine the statutes which the sins of the nation have rendered necessary on this point, and trace the course of the domestic change along the course of political events; and the series of corruptions in each will be found to run side by side, and to be connected with inseparable links.

And then turn to another relation of domestic life—that of master and servant. Christianity set the slave free. It struck off his chains, not by any violent infraction of an established system—not by encouraging that restless and dangerous spirit of independence which refuses to own any master—not by indulging in vague and fanatical clamours against an institution which had not been excluded even from the Divinely appointed polity of the Jews—which nature herself had in some degree adopted—and the very name of which had been assumed into the most ennobling relations of the gospel. She knew that where the spirit of Christian love is infused, there the outward form of slavery not only loses its terrors, but becomes capable of generating great virtues. And however capable of abuse may be the power of one human being over another, she knew that far greater abuses prevail in the unrestricted rule of each man over himself. The highest virtues of our nature—patience, fortitude, humility, faith, may be cherished and exercised in the slave,

even under the harshest bondage ; and mercy, and pity, and love, and self-denial, may be practised by the master even when armed with absolute power. But no virtue whatever can be generated in the license of self-will, except it be the self-command taught to us by bitter suffering, and resolute to abandon its freedom, and to confine itself under an external rule. If a Christian was born a slave, by the advice of the Apostle he was not to seek to become free.

For man is made up of body and mind. And whenever, by any circumstances, moral or physical, the body, in its wants or its affections, predominates in an individual over the mind, there, by an universal law of nature, it must be subjected to the rule of another. This is the general formula, which comprehends all the varieties of slavery. And the state of slavery sins against this law of nature perhaps only when the relation is reversed, and brute force, unregulated by mind, endeavours (for it never is able) to tyrannise over mind emancipated from the body.

Thus, the mental imbecility of the child, and the necessities of its bodily nature, place it at the mercy of its parent. Thus, the decaying intellect of old age, and the same bodily wants, make it dependent upon the young. Thus, the violence of animal passions must be followed by the coercion of a prison. Thus, impotency in controlling our inclinations involves extravagances, and extravagance brings debt, and debt subjection to a creditor. Thus, the cravings of the body—hunger, and thirst, and cold—compel the poor to seek employment from the rich. And the stronger these cravings become, the more onerous is the toil which is undertaken to satisfy them. Thus, real freedom is only to be attained by diminishing our bodily wants, and strength-

ening our mental powers. And wherever the body does not intervene, and mind is no way enslaved to it, in the individual himself, there the mind cannot be subjected to any external constraint. No subjection can be enforced, no real tyranny exercised by brute power, except where the mind of the subject is weak and defective. It may torture a martyr at the stake; it may confiscate property; it may menace, and inflict, death: but it cannot touch the mind until the mind itself gives way to its own body. For it cannot compel acts—to suffering the mind can reconcile itself, especially under the consolations of Christianity; and the moment it is reconciled, and ceases to struggle against the outward bond, it will cease to feel the existence of it. The prisoner who voluntarily confines himself within the walls of his dungeon, so far as the sense of slavery is concerned, is as happy, as if the world were his own, to range over it at pleasure.

If, then, this subjection of one man to another—this state of servitude—be as inseparable from private life, as ruling and being ruled are inseparable from political society; what is the spirit which ought to be infused into it, to prevent its excesses and evils? And the answer is the same as that which has been already given with regard to the bond of union between the people and the Sovereign in the body politic. Fear or compulsion must be employed, and interest, and faith: and yet not any one of these exclusively, but all combined. And wherever any one is wanting, there the relation becomes imperfect and corrupt. But into the present system of servitude in this country, only one of these is allowed to enter—interest. All constraint has been removed—all sense of an external power, tying down the inferior to his superior, fixing him in the family, binding him to the soil, or attaching him to the

person of his master. The servant is left, in the abused sense of the word, wholly free; and, as a necessary consequence, he has been reduced to a condition worse than that of the slave. Labour—the labour of human beings—is now an article for the market. It is a subject of competition. It is open to the same rivalry, and its value is fixed by the same irregular struggle between two contending selfishnesses, as the price of a bale of cotton or a loaf of bread. The hirer and the hired have each but a single object: the one to purchase as cheap, the other to sell his toil as dear, as possible. But in such a conflict the master must ultimately be the vanquisher. The servant who outstands his market must starve. And thus we have seen the price of the labour of the poor throughout the kingdom, in almost every department, reduced to so low a rate, that life can scarcely be supported. And the wretched workman is left to starve, throughout the vigour of his life, in a miserable hovel, and to die in a poor-house, while the master is apparently exempt from all responsibility, as he is untouched by any compassion, because the relation between himself and his servant has been stripped of all moral obligation and religious character, and has been reduced to a mere act of barter. Faith and fear have perished from it. And so it must be, when the dependence of man upon man ceases to be regarded in a religious light—as a positive dispensation of Providence; when, instead of submitting to, and acquiescing in, the position in which we are placed at our birth, until some other call from Heaven summon us from it, we are taught from our childhood, that there is no law or rule for our temporal conduct, but to secure, each of us, what we deem to be our own advancement in the world; when, in this way, a perpetual fretting fever of restless ambition is diffused through

every class; when the master, to increase his gains, reduces his servant to starvation, and the servant serves not as an act of duty, and in the Lord, but simply to earn his bread.

For, to the creation of faith and fear, it is an essential condition, that authority, of whatever kind, should be based ultimately upon a positive external Divine appointment. Nothing else can steady the caprices of the human heart; nothing else cover and supply the defects of the human character; nothing else impress an adequate responsibility upon the ruler to exercise his power with mercy, and to fulfil the trust committed to him, of watching over and improving the condition of his dependants; nothing else dignify subjection, and hallow union, and preserve love. But all this has been swept away by the same acts, by which the State has abandoned a positive external Divine authority, first for its creeds, then for its clergy, then for itself, and then, as a necessary consequence, for every other power in the kingdom. If the State cannot claim an external Divine appointment, wholly independent of human fancy, much less can the parent or the master. Man, however weak, however ignorant, must be emancipated (in theory, for in practice he cannot be) from all subjection whatever to a fellow-creature. His emancipation must not wait for a development of mind within him, which would enable him to bear and to improve his liberty. Subjection, in itself, is deemed a wrong, and must not be protracted by any calculations of expediency. We sigh over the imprisonment of the canary-bird, exclaim against the cruelty of its oppressor, unbar the doors of its cage without a moment's delay, and the poor bird claps its wings with joy, flutters into the open air, regains its liberty, its blessed liberty—and the next day is found dead of cold and hunger. It is not for a

Christian to argue in favour of slavery ; still less to speak of it, except with abhorrence, when the master abuses his power, and the slave, instead of being raised by him, by degrees, to the capability and enjoyment of his freedom, is rivetted in his chains for ever. But a Christian may indeed ask, whether the total exclusion of all constraint, of all fear, of all positive external obligation from the relation of master and servant, has not ended in reducing the servant in this country to a condition far worse—far more abject and degraded—far more hopeless—far more vitiated—than that of any slave in any period or country of the world. Our mines, our factories, our common workshops—even our farms and agricultural cottages—full of crippled children and deformed women, of famine and fever, of drunkenness and vice, of depraved, miserable, hopeless beings, doomed by their own free act—the free act of a being in the agony of starvation—to the severest toil in darkness, at midnight; deprived of rest, stinted in food, selling their children to the same misery with their own for a few shillings, or sickening over hours of toil to earn their pence,—all the horrible scenes revealed by late inquiries into the state of our lower classes,—what is there in the records of slavery to be found more heart-breaking, or more appalling, to those who believe that nations, like individuals, are visited by curses from the Almighty, and that the first curse denounced in His commandments is uttered against those who depart, even in the slightest degree, from His positive, external, revealed truth, and shape out ideas of the Divine nature after their own fancy ; and that this curse is denounced not merely upon the sinner himself, but upon the third and fourth generation, long after the first offence is committed.

Let us turn to another instance of the impot-

ency, except for mischief, of a creedless and churchless State.

One great and vital function of the State is the creation of Incorporations. The same defects and imperfections in individual life, which render families and polities necessary, render necessary also the formation, within the polity, of bodies of citizens for various purposes, possessing the advantages of individual life in unity and consistency of action, and exempted from its disadvantages by the united counsels, joint powers, and collective interests, of many, and especially by a species of immortality. Individuals die; but it is the great privilege of bodies corporate that they are perpetual. Perhaps no better test can be taken of the power and progress of a nation than the number and character of its incorporations, whether for commerce, for education, for charity, for arts, for science, for municipal government, for political exertion, or for the subordinate offices of the Church. The individual energy of the people must throw itself into this form. And accordingly, as the chief development of the power of the citizens, a wise ruler will always encourage it as far as possible, will retain over it a paramount control, will permit it to work only for objects of good, and will endeavour to exclude from it every thing which may mar its efficiency, or pervert it to mischief.

Now, without at present examining into the cause, as a fact, it is obvious, that, within the last thirty years in this country, a most extraordinary change has taken place in the theory and practice of politicians on this subject. Whether we look to the sudden alteration in our municipal system, or to the virtual destruction of the cathedral bodies, or to the laxity with which charters are granted to promiscuous societies for education, or to the clamours

against the monopoly of commercial companies, or to the appointment of commissions by the Crown, or to the rise of those innumerable self-constituted bodies by which the functions of the Church are too often usurped without the control of the bishop,—we are met alike by the signs of a singular revolution of opinion.

By whatever causes this change has been forced on, one of its most striking circumstances is the total and necessary exclusion of all religion from corporate bodies now created by the State. There was a time when religion was held to be the chief, if not the only bond of human society in any shape,—when admission into the privileges and duties of corporate bodies was given by a religious ceremonial—when the very wording of charters made solemn reference to an Apostolical Faith—when, even upon commercial companies, the spread of true religion was made incumbent by the same act which gave them being. And the grandest growth and power of the corporate system has accordingly been exhibited in the Church itself, and in those vast gigantic bodies which she raised up in the middle ages to execute her various functions, and which fell into vice and evil only when, at the instigation of the Papacy, they rebelled against her own apostolical injunctions. And if it be asked, why the incorporation of human beings is thus essentially dependent upon religion, once more the answer is, because one external truth is required to reduce all intellects into unity of belief, and one external authority to harmonise all acts, even when the wills are at variance; and one deep, common, universal interest—an interest coming home to the hearts of all—to bring human affections into one focus. And these cannot be found except in religion, nor in religion except it be revealed, nor in revelation except it be removed from the caprices

of opinion, and be established on the solid external basis of historical testimony.

And if it then be objected triumphantly, as we have heard so often, that incorporations do exist without religion, and without a creed; that the British empire has not yet crumbled into atoms, though its legislature has apostatised from the Church; that families can live together without piety; that religious dogmas need not and do not enter into the arrangements of a bank, or the operations of a railway company,—the answer is, that such aggregations are not really corporate bodies, though bound together by statute—that they have no vital union, because either they cannot be formed except from persons indifferent to their religious duties, and held together only by self-love—the love of money—which will dis sever them at any moment; or else, whenever a religious spirit rises up in them, they must embrace a creed, or they must fall to pieces. For merely as instruments of power they must deal with human beings—they must employ servants, expend money, exercise influence; even when formed on the smallest scale, they must affect the thoughts and acts, and therefore must be responsible for the souls, of their fellow-creatures. And for this very reason, where the State has had the power, it has prohibited them from touching on religion. It compelled the municipal corporations to sell the advowsons, which in a better day had been entrusted to them, because conscientious men could not administer such a trust, or any trust, without wishing and endeavouring to convert it into a means for circulating and promoting what they believed to be religious truth. So also a canal company has been called on to build churches; and a railway company to provide religious instruction for its labourers; and a colonisation society has wisely commenced its operations by

petitioning for the creation of a bishopric ; and even the East India Company cannot meet without some discussion on the religious condition of India ; and a conveyance company must decide one way or the other on the sanctity of the Sabbath ; and any body of Christians, like an individual Christian, when called on to trust, to control, or to associate with their dependants and servants, if they understand and obey the injunction of the apostle, not even to eat with certain characters ; or the real nature of the sin of heresy and schism ; or the duty of upholding the truth in our acts, as well as in our words ; or the nature and perils of severance from the Church ; or the meaning of that fearful anathema denounced on all who preach any but the one gospel, and therefore on all wilful followers of such preachers — any members, I repeat, of any society, however secular in its object, or however trivial, must pause seriously before they admit even into their service souls which they must either leave to perish under their own eye, without endeavouring to reclaim them to the truth, or must harden them in error by silence, or must be compelled to proselytise, under circumstances of dependence and self-interest most fatal to honesty of judgment and to freedom of conscience. And they will feel also, that by admitting into their incorporation the elements of heresy and schism, even in the most dormant and unconscious form, they are either preparing for a future disruption, as soon as the truth becomes known, and zeal begins to revive, or they are crying peace where there is no peace, are healing the wounds of the body of Christ lightly, are acting as traitors to truth and to its God, by refusing to profess it openly ; and so are setting before the little ones of Christ, the poor, the ignorant, and the young, a stumbling block and offence, upon which, if they fall, as fall they must, they make

shipwreck of all their hopes of heaven, and even of all their happiness upon earth.

Let us not be deceived. Christianity is, indeed, catholic—free as the light, open as the sea, universal as the air—embracing all degrees, obliterating all distinctions, abhorring all exclusion in the offer of its gifts to man. But when those gifts have been offered and rejected,—then it is rigid in enforcing its conditions, and uncompromising in its exclusiveness. Christians are called to be a “peculiar people;” to be as “salt in the earth,” pure and purifying in the midst of corruption; “as a city set upon a hill;” as a “light shining in a dark place.” To intermarry with the daughters of men was the first sin and ruin of the sons of God before the flood. And to live and act, and incorporate ourselves with aliens from the Church, as if either those aliens were its children, or we ourselves were estranged from it, is the first step to renouncing all our Christian privileges. Christianity does, indeed, love all men, Jew and Gentile, bond and free. But it shews its love by striving to communicate to them its own peculiar exclusive blessings, and by bringing them into its own communion, not by abandoning its own blessings, or breaking down the walls of its own communion. If there is one duty of a catholic Christian in this day of vague comprehension and undefined belief, it is to be firmly and rigidly exclusive in all his associations and dealings, except where the calls of general compassion supersede such caution by rendering it unnecessary. It is right to avoid all intimacy with those who have severed themselves from the Church; to mark by our private habits as well as by public protestations, not that we are arbitrarily and censoriously condemning others, but that, in the present distraction of Christ’s Church, whether caused by needlessly insisting on

terms of communion, or by needlessly objecting to them, one party or the other is in deadly sin; and that for sinners, in such a state, to mix together carelessly and freely, without confession, or rebuke, or endeavours to correct each other,—agreeing to sink the very name and thought of their sin, as an inconvenient interference with their social amity or commercial interest, putting altogether out of sight the existence and the vengeance of Almighty God upon those who rend the body of His Church,—or speaking of His nature and dealings falsely and after our own devices, that we may conciliate human agreement rather than Divine favour,—all this is a fearful mockery of Heaven, and can end only in heavier punishment, and in a curse upon all that we undertake.

And let it not be urged that such conduct, on the part of the Church, would be either singular or invidious. To the honour—not to the dispraise—let it be said of those who have severed themselves from the Church in this country, whether Romanists or dissenters, that, among many fatal errors, they have preserved the one great truth of the exclusiveness of the Church of Christ, and that this truth has been to them as salt in the midst of corruption. To their exclusive associations, exclusive dealings, exclusive assertion of salvation, exclusive lines of spiritual and even social communion, carried to an extent strangely inconsistent with their clamours for liberality and toleration in the Church, they have owed their strength and even their being. And when they denounce the harshness of the Church in maintaining any similar conditions, they demand only that which will enable them more firmly to uphold and enforce their own.

Neither let it be charged upon such conduct that it is full of bitterness and presumption. Rather,

it is full of humility and love; of humility, if the lines which it maintains are drawn, not by itself, but by the hand of God; if it upholds only what God has commanded, and is known to have commanded by evidence external to ourselves, and excludes only what He has excluded; and full also of love, since its object is not to exclude, but to include—not to drive away the wandering sheep, as a prey to wolves, but to build up more strongly one fold under one Shepherd, and to reclaim all stragglers into its bosom by mercy and by truth, rather than to break down the fold itself, and abandon the whole flock to destruction. Above all, let every act of exclusion be accompanied with humble and hearty confession of our sins—a confession that our own negligence, our coldness, our crimes, our folly, have been the stumbling-blocks in the way of our brothers—that self-invented sects have risen where the Church had never been seen—that the Bible has been abandoned to be torn to pieces where the Church has failed to teach it in its catholic interpretation, and according to catholic practice—that where the clergy have been remiss, there earnest zealous teachers have been tempted to supersede their authority—that if piety in others has run into fanaticism, the cause has been our own worldliness—and if the spirit of unity in Christians has generated sectarianism, and grown up into monstrous shapes of self-formed spiritual associations, the Church itself has failed to provide legitimate forms in which it might have been embodied, to the infinite blessing of mankind. There can be no pride where there is common shame, and no rancour where there is a joint prayer for mutual forgiveness. And in this spirit, not in a vain desire to purchase peace and union by the sacrifice of revealed truth, let us associate together in our private life, and seek our exclusive incorporation at the hands of the State.

All that Almighty God has provided to bind us together in the unity of the spirit, and in the bond of peace—one Lord, one faith, one Spirit, one hope of our calling, one God and Father of us all,—every thing has failed. Let us not hope that the statutes of a parliament, or the voice of a king, can unite us better—that we can be united at all if we are not united in the Lord. Let us remain separate—separate in our lives, separate in our dealings, separate in our marriages, separate in our enterprises and endeavours, separate, most of all, in our works of charity and religion, which in any way to be acceptable to God must be done as works of faith, and from which, if the name of the one true God be excluded, they may become our most deadly sins. As we refuse to worship under the same roof, and to acknowledge the same rulers under Christ, let us not profess to bear even the same name, or to be united in the same spiritual Church. They who will not together be members of the visible Church, cannot together boast themselves to be members of the invisible. And as we live and die apart, so let us be buried apart. Let us not carry, even into the place of our rest, the memory of our dissensions by vainly affecting to exclude them; or in the midst of dust and ashes, of all that solemnises and compels truth, proclaim the enormous lie that we can sever ourselves, or be severed, from the one Church of Christ upon earth, and yet lie down in our graves in His peace, and rise, at the last day, to be received by Him together into His bliss.

Separate, and enforcing separation, we shall, at least, save from utter loss the fact that a truth exists, though we know not where to find it. We shall each be endeavouring to please God, and to promulgate what we suppose that He has revealed. We shall be striving each to hold fast a faith as having

been once delivered to the saints; though among many spurious, only one can be true. And God will have mercy upon us, even when we err, if our errors are accompanied with earnestness, with honesty, with sincerity of heart. We shall be doing also, in some degree, that work of charity which God has appointed us, in warning others from what we believe to be error, and leading them into that which we believe to be truth, though our belief may be wrong. And, comparatively, we shall be at peace. There will be fewer occasions for dispute; and dispute, when it does arise, will be tempered and softened by mutual respect due to faithful and energetic minds, even when they differ from ourselves.

But, above all, we shall escape from the frightful crime, of which the State is now guilty, in her acts of incorporation. If we cannot live, and act, and serve God, in the form and spirit which He has appointed, it is better for us to sit inactive. If we plant to fill the world with trees of poison, one only part is left, not to plant at all. But what, in the sight of Heaven, must be the guilt of a State, which, professing still the name of Christ, and a belief in His word, yet voluntarily calls into existence and incorporates moral beings, persons having a reason, and a will, and a character; which endues them with an enormous capacity for influencing the fortunes and the souls of others; which constructs out of them the real fabric and mechanism of the nation; which facilitates their acquisition of wealth; which invests them with dignity, assumes them as partners in its government, effects by them its most important operations, gives to them almost the privilege of immortality, and fixes and roots them throughout the empire — laying on them this one condition, that they should act without a faith, a creed, or a God; that if they educate, they should educate in a com-

mon disbelief of any truth ; if they unite in commerce, no thought of any thing but lucre should enter into their speculations ; if they rule, it must be without religion, in a careful avoidance of every word and deed which would indicate their belief in a world to come ; if they would build up and establish refuges for the miserable and the poor, it must be with the exclusion of all which most sanctifies the poverty, and mitigates the sufferings of man.

CHAPTER XXX.

It seems almost needless to continue these observations farther into details. The same principles are to repeated. And yet two or three more instances may require to be specially noticed.

As the great internal function of a nation is the creation of incorporations, so its great external work is the propagation of colonies. They are its children; and children are "an heritage of the Lord, and the fruit of the womb is His reward."¹ "Happy," it may be added, "is the State which hath its quiver full of them. They shall not be ashamed; but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate."

Colonies are the natural and legitimate vent for the expanding resources and energies of a people, whose faculties are allowed their full and proper development. Population must swell, capital increase, talent and enterprise be called forth, which can find no adequate field in the already-occupied ground of an established empire. And if no issue be provided for these, they will ferment and corrupt in their confinement. The rebellion was the work of men who had been arrested in their escape to America.

It was this necessity which originated the sweeping invasions of the northern hordes into Europe, and the established policy of the great eastern nations, to throw themselves periodically, with the whole weight of the empire, not merely upon countries like Greece and Lydia, which offered temptations to ambition, but into the deserts of Scythia

¹ Psalm cxxvii.

and of Africa. A plethory requires to be bled. But to a Christian people, war, except in self-defence, and foreign conquest, are especially and peremptorily forbidden. The same law is binding upon States as upon individuals: "Thou shalt not covet." One curse is denounced on all who remove their neighbours' landmarks, whether by an army or by private violence. And the curse takes effect, not merely by the miracles of an interfering Providence, but by the ordinary course of nature. An empire cannot cohere which has been extended by conquests so as to include within it two or more different races, unless they can all be absorbed into one, either by the extinction or suppression of the original inhabitants, or by the binding power of one Church. A difference of religion is fatal to the unity of the nation. And a foreign conqueror is not the fittest ambassador of Heaven to preach a new faith to the conquered. Hence the necessity of compromise and inconsistency in religion, in the dealings of the ruler with the different classes of his subjects. And with this inconsistency in national as in private life, follows weakness and vacillation of character, contempt, indignation, and downfall. The union with Scotland was the first step to the breaking up of the British empire. The Romanism of Ireland is now repaying upon our heads the crime of its original invasion. The conquest of India, which nothing could have redeemed but recovering it to the Christian Church, has now brought on us the sin of idolatry. And by so loose a thread is that vast empire hanging together, that we can only retain our dominion by fresh acts of injustice and aggression; and can only defend our crimes by the plea of a mysterious principle, which compels a civilised Christian, whenever he comes in contact with a barbarian, to rob and murder him.

These are the things which destroy and dismember a polity, by destroying the character of its rulers, and the faith of its subjects; even as it would shatter to pieces the moral empire of the universe, if the Almighty were to proclaim from His throne a negation of religious truth, or a variation of moral right. But that which foreign conquest causes, yet hopes to remedy, when it brings under one rule nations or tribes of different religions—what the wisest of conquerors have always considered a bar to their grandest schemes of ambition, and made it their first object to remove, as full of ruin to the structure which they would erect—this, in the present day, the British empire is voluntarily and deliberately creating in the propagation of its colonies. It is not content with passively looking on, while its vast and overflowing reservoir of population disgorges itself in a corrupt and purulent tide upon the forests of America or the deserts of Australia, like the bursting of a wen; it does not leave the turbid flood to subside there by itself, and from the slime to generate, as it may, its strange-shaped monsters of society, crawling about half-formed and loathsome amidst the fragments and wreck of its parent system, which it has swept along and deposited in a strange soil. This quiescence might seem despair and indolence; but it would be wisdom, the truest wisdom, as inactivity is the wisdom of men who cannot act without sin, and as to retire into ourselves in shame and sorrow, weeping over the evils which we have caused and cannot remedy, is the first step to the reformation of a penitent.

But England has no sense of sin, and no shame, and no repentance. She has shewn no contrition before either God or man, even for the invention of that moral monster, a penal colony—for emptying upon another shore the cesspool of her own past

infamy and crimes, and there encouraging it to ferment into life, perhaps to become a people, an Empire of sin. She has thought only of money, how she may procure in her colonies new outlets for her manufactures, and thus, by a perpetual, precarious, fluctuating expansion and contraction of her market, may foster still more the cancer which is already eating into her vitals. To plant in desert and savage regions the germs of organised polities, which may grow up into fair and stately kingdoms, like trees by the water-side; to commit to them the true faith, and the true Church of Christ, that they may nurse and spread the Gospel in the most distant lands, and evangelise the heathen and the savage; to see them springing up in her own image of goodness, reverencing her as the parent of their spiritual as of their civil life—gathering round to support her in her trials, and claiming their deserved independence as soon as they are arrived at maturity, yet never losing their love and duty, and union in one Church and Lord—this, the grand pride and work of nations in the full overflowing luxuriance of their wealth and strength, seems scarcely to have been dreamed of by the Governments which have superintended the colonisations of Great Britain.

And now we are sinning more. In each colony we are deliberately planting all the suckers of our own heresies and schisms. We are, indeed, sending forth some faint image of the Catholic Church in the person of a thinly-scattered episcopacy, almost powerless from the want of funds, from the vastness of dioceses, and from the deficiency of clergy; but, side by side, we are setting and encouraging every form of dissent—fostering their missions—salariating their teachers, establishing their (so-called) bishops, and incorporating their colleges. And we are doing this as infidels ourselves, and as teachers of

infidelity to others. We have not even the miserable excuse, that, in thus creating in our dependencies a melancholy representation of the real state of the parent country, we are compelled by the strong necessity of obeying the popular voice in a popular government, and of taking the popular impression. It is not the popular impression to acknowledge no religion, or to preach a multitude of faiths: the popular voice, if heard in its true tone, is wholly for exclusiveness. Each sect would maintain and diffuse its own creed. Heresy and schism, and all the wild zeal into which they break forth, have no connexion with indifference in themselves, nor any resemblance to it. They may compel neutrality in others; but they exhibit no neutrality in themselves. And if in its dealings with religion the State were neutral; if it would at least abstain from any interference whatever; if it would only withdraw all support from all religious communions, it might enjoy the melancholy plea of necessity and compulsion, and it might be comparatively innocent in the sight of God. But it now acts, and acts voluntarily, and forms a plan of its own. It has a theory and a system. Its sins are on its own head. And what must be the issue? Can a young child grow up into health and vigour without sound nurture? Can it become other than crippled and deformed, if it be maimed and mutilated from its cradle in one of its most vital organs? If an empire, in its maturity and fixedness, requires a Church to preserve authority in its rulers, obedience in its subjects, stability in its institutions, and, above all, the blessing of Heaven upon its undertakings, does a colony require it less, new as it is in position, filled with an atmosphere of change, uprooted from its ancient habits and most deep-seated prejudices; its leaders either chosen by the colonists, or deriving

all their authority from the parent State, and that parent state far distant ; its spirit full of enterprise, perhaps of criminal excitement ; its wants many, its resources few ? In no condition of human nature are the comforts of religion, or positive external law, or reverence for antiquity, or adherence to prescription, or belief in truth, or the control of a sound public opinion, or the restraint of a high tone in society, more needed than in the settlement of a colony. It is the confession of experienced men. And, instead of these, England has given to her colonies, by her public acts, a spectacle of contending sects, each condemning and condemned, each proclaiming the falsity of all creeds but its own, yet each claiming for itself the sanction and approbation of the State. England has founded her colonies in the negation of religious truth, and all other truth must be denied them with this. And yet she would rear them in independence, give to them legislatures of their own, foster in them the popular elements of society, in all colonies full of vigour, and tending to extravagance. Is it possible that any forms should be generated from such a policy, worthy the name of States ? Under any circumstances, could they become other than abortions or monsters—full of distraction, swayed only by one passion, the lust of money, careless of the parent country, contemptuous to their rulers, impotent for good, and not even strong for evil ?

And yet the curse, which in this condition they would bring upon the mother country, may work still more rapidly. If among the schismatic bodies, thus fostered and acknowledged by the State, there be, on one side, a number of heterogeneous sects, all quarrelling with each other in the licensed spirit of self-will, and agreeing only in their enmity to the Church ; if, on the other, there be a compact, ancient, powerful, intriguing, spiritual polity, repudiating

the miserable maxims which sooner or later must disgust every thoughtful, high-minded Christian, putting forward claims to unity, authority, and truth—spurious claims, indeed, and anti-christian, but most difficult to be refuted by the unlearned—if this religious communion be organised with consummate skill and efficiency for employing its own forces, and for breaking the strength of its antagonist—if it be animated with deep and deadly hostility to England, as the first and most formidable of opponents to its struggle for universal empire—if it possess not only in every other country, but in the heart and very vitals of Great Britain, an enormous body of auxiliaries, bound together to one centre of authority, and that a foreign potentate—if, in particular, it has established itself in the political councils of one great nation, the hereditary enemy of England, such as France, and in the popular democratical workings of a third part of the British empire, such as Ireland—if, wearied and sickened with violence in the enemies, and with heartlessness in the friends of truth, the best and most energetic of religious minds in England are exposed to the temptations of its intrigues—and if nothing will satisfy its ambition but either a second reduction of the empire at large to its foreign rule, or its dismemberment and ruin,—if these are not mere conjectures, but facts—facts established by our daily experience, and confirmed by the whole analogy of history—what must be the prospect of England; and what a war,—a war hourly and increasingly fomented—a war for existence itself—hangs over it in its dependencies, and even within the pale of the mother country—as the inevitable result of that creedless, churchless system, which, instead of binding together all races and all branches, by the strongest of all bonds, religion, has proclaimed an unlimited indulgence of

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opinion, to end in the persecuting triumph of the most intolerant of schisms!

And is it necessary to say more? And yet if a people owes a duty to its colonies—a duty the same as that of parents to the children whom they beget—does it not also owe a duty to other nations—to all whom it may influence for good by example or by advice, or by the diffusion of any blessings which Providence has vouchsafed to itself? Is it for nothing that He who made the earth has set the bounds of the nations, “and given dominion unto whom it seemed meet to Him?”¹ Is there no plan or system in the discipline, by which, from time to time, “He builds and plants an empire,” and “plucks up and pulls it down?” Or, are kings and rulers, like private men, ministers and instruments in His hands—moral and responsible instruments—for the furtherance of the great object of creation, the development of His Church—that is, for the restoration of man? Even a worldly statesman would confess, that to sit as an arbiter among surrounding kingdoms—as a model and example—as a source of wisdom and truth—as the benefactor both of the civilised and of the savage—not by unauthorised interferences, but by just and desired mediation, is an ennobling office. And thus history fixes the eye upon a few grand sovereign nations, which have swayed the destinies of the world, and have all been intimately associated with the fortunes of the Church. Thus Babylon, and Nineveh, and Egypt, and Persia, were made the ministers of Divine discipline to the Jews, and the preservers of a certain portion of Divine truth to the heathen. Thus Greece was formed as the school and nursery of the human intellect. Thus Rome—the iron Rome—was

¹ Jerem. xxvii. 6.

wielded by the arm of Heaven as a gigantic mace to break down the divisions of the people, to bring them under one universal rule, "to make the mountains a way, and the highways to be exalted," to bridge over seas, and to diffuse one tongue over the world, that the feet of those who brought good tidings to mankind might pass and penetrate with ease unto the farthest corners of the earth. Thus Charlemagne and the Arabs, Germany and France, America and India, each seem to occupy a peculiar post, and to discharge an allotted function in the general history of mankind. But if to one nation more than another has been appointed the duty of arbitrating with equity and peace in the civilised world, and of carrying blessings and knowledge among the heathens, it is to England. It sits alone in the ocean, not tempted to conquer others, and safe from conquest herself. Her navies, her commerce, her very language, bring her into contact with the whole globe. Her enormous capital supplies the means for the most gigantic missionary enterprises. And her science, and art, and liberty, and the practical wisdom of her philosophers, duly diffused and guarded from abuse, would prove a blessing to mankind. And some little spring of good she has, indeed, poured out to prove her strength. But how little compared with the blessings which she has received! And how is even this little dried up and cut off by the same acts which proclaim her an apostate from the Church! Can she curb the restless ambition of her own people, when she has cast off the law of God? Can she preserve her wisdom, or even her science, when she has abandoned the grand formula of all truth, by rejecting the knowledge of Him, who is its fountain-head, and image, and first cause? Can she evangelise the heathen, when she has no settled creed, no certain truth, no united

Church to offer them—when, with the same voice which proclaims us Christians, we proclaim ourselves disobedient to Christ, and the renders to pieces of His body—and when to the anxious question, what is the message from God upon which their salvation depends, we answer, that it is the Bible alone, but what is the true interpretation of the Bible we do not know?

Or again, can any nation feel respect, or confidence, or love towards a people who publicly and socially have no religion? Will any nation which possesses a religion, and which cleaves to its God, cleave to, or recur to in difficulties, or imitate in duties, a State which is an infidel? Rather, will they not strive to blockade it, its rulers and its teachers, with a stern quarantine? Will it not be left to associate with those only who are infidels like itself, and to form a confederacy of infidels? There can be for the friendship of nations as for that of individuals, but one true, solid, permanent, universal bond. the bond which God has appointed—communion in one Church. Even the Romans knew this. And Christian England has learned this from America, from Canada, from India, and from Ireland. And the lesson will be taught us farther, but written in letters of blood.

And now let us turn lastly to one other function of the State—its penal and civil legislation. The whole philosophy of Christian legislation is too vast a subject to be discussed, except in a separate inquiry. And the unnatural accumulation of our statutes is a sufficient proof that we have departed from its true principles. But there are one or two considerations which may be briefly suggested.

The Legislature is the head and the centre of a system; and the movements of that system it can regulate rightly only on the same plan with other supreme regulating powers in the universe, accord-

ing to the analogy of the Divine dominion, and the Divine nature. Abandon the truth here, and error must follow us into all our acts. Accordingly, in an infidel, or a creedless State, we shall find one paramount falsity entering into and pervading its whole process of legislation. Once, again (let us revert to the primary principle), the axiom of "plurality in unity, and unity in plurality," meets us in the Divine government of the universe. It admits two several springs of action, and harmonises them by a third: neither, as it might seem, confining all originating power to the Almighty, and centralising all movements round one exclusive point, nor abandoning one supreme control over the multitude of independent springs of action, which are created in the separate existence of moral agents. The chief movements upon earth proceed from below—from man. They spring up in a myriad of separate threads of action. And in the supreme overruling power which sits above, there is exhibited a quiescence, a patience, a long-suffering, almost, if we may dare so to speak, a dilatoriness and insensibility to the evils thus breaking forth, which ill agree with our conceptions of omnipotence and omniscience. Even the movements of the physical world seem framed after the same analogy. The planets roll round the sun, the sun is stationary in the midst of them. The harmony of the material universe is the result of counteracting forces—educed, as all harmony must be educed, from discrepancies and oppositions. It is not a purely centralised system.

But the moment we lose sight of the revealed truth of the Divine nature as our model—of His positive external laws for our guides—of His dealings for our example—and of those attributes of patience and long-suffering, which, as most opposed to our natural expectations, can be learnt only from

external revelation — then our legislation and rule swells into a labyrinth of specialities, a mass of interferences, an oppression of all subordinate movements, an attempt to engross and absorb all the forces of the community. And, like other endeavours to accumulate more than we can retain, it ends in our dropping to the ground nearly all that has been grasped, and in our sitting down in despair and disappointment upon a heap of fragments. Whether this be not the character of our present legislation — whether it be consistent with a rational liberty in the subject, with moderation in the State, with steadiness and uniformity in its proceedings, with its own legitimate authority, or with peace and reverence for law in those whom it controls—it is unnecessary to ask. But it is natural — it is almost necessary in the acts of men, who, possessing supreme power, and desiring to exercise it in accordance with the human theory of exclusive unity and perfection, can scarcely be justified by their own conscience in remaining inactive, and will endure no contradiction to their will, unless they are checked and supported by the positive enforcements of an external revelation.

And when, from the general theory, the State passes to particular enactments, what is its position?

Its civil code, like its penal code, must be conversant with rights and wrongs. And though, for the acquiescence of the subject, it is sufficient that these should be defined by the human legislator, it is not sufficient, either for the acquittal of the legislator before the tribunal of Heaven, or to secure the permanent allegiance of the subject, that they should be defined by him arbitrarily, and by opinion. They must be defined in accordance with a moral law; and that moral law must be Divine, not human; and it must be ascertained to be Divine, not

by human opinion, but by positive external testimony—and that testimony must be the very highest which can be obtained—and none higher can be obtained than that of the Catholic Church. Moreover, these definitions and special enactments, if they are to be preserved in consistency, and not to become a chaos of conflicting incongruities, must all be drawn out from certain fixed general principles, the summaries of all laws. To these perpetual reference must be made. They must be guarded and maintained as fundamental axioms. They must be truths, not conventional fictions, which reason will ridicule and destroy. To be truths, they must be mysteries; for they must be in accordance with the Divine nature, and that nature is a mystery. And mysteries cannot be received or acted upon by human reason, except on the ground of faith; nor can faith be commanded or exhibited without a positive external personal authority, to which it may bow. Thus our Anglo-Saxon code commences with the ten commandments and the canons of the first council of Jerusalem. And thus no supernatural creed ever comprehended principles more obnoxious and startling to the ordinary understanding of man than the received dicta and maxims, upon which, not our present, but our ancient code of laws were framed, and by which the rights of Englishmen, and the structure of our whole polity, were once maintained. It would be an interesting and striking inquiry to draw forth these “maxims of law,” and to shew their wonderful resemblance to the great fundamental mysteries and problems of revealed truth; and it would be even more striking to trace the results which have followed the attempt to simplify and rationalise them; and to collect the testimony of practical lawyers to the complication and confusion of our present statute-books, and to

the commencement of the evil at the same period with our worst moral and religious convulsions.

A creedless State can have no first principles. And a prudent statesman will be compelled to warn and to guard it against enunciating any ; not as if legislation could be conducted without them, but because it can scarcely fail to enunciate what is false. And a false principle once placed upon record, and established as law, is like the Trojan horse. It is admitted into the very citadel of truth ; and in the middle of the night, when no one expects it, armed men will break forth from its womb, and resistance will be useless. To this wise and sober caution, not to ignorance of the value of first truths, let us attribute the almost daily warning now heard in our parliaments, "to beware of asserting principles." The warning has been already neglected too often ; and it would be doubly and trebly wise, if accompanied with another warning, "without asserting them not to legislate at all." For excluded they cannot be. They may be hidden from sight, and buried under a mass of specialities, but there they still must lurk, ready to spring forth, whenever a sanction is needed for their open introduction. For every single act, however trivial, involves a principle, just as the single leaf, which buds upon the twig of an oak, implies, and is connected with, the root. And how often, in the present day, have we been startled by the assumption in legislation of some monstrous proposition as an acknowledged axiom, already sanctioned and in use, and find that it had crept in unperceived in some petty measure—a road-bill, or a money-grant, or a divorce-bill—in which no one had dreamed of a principle ; and from thence is drawn out, for the most mischievous purposes, with that singular perspicuity and ingenuity, with which even children detect analogies and general laws in the conduct of

their teachers, especially when they can be applied to justify a fault, or to obtain an indulgence. And thus admitted, what is the result?

The legislation, like the action and the body of the State, to be good, must possess its unity. And its unity can only be maintained by the consistency and universality of first principles. Lose sight of these, and we become entangled in a huge mass of contradictions and perplexities, and the very nature of law is lost. And the higher the authority, the more general must be the principles. To apply, to specify, to detail, is left to inferior powers. The plurality of a well-organised system resides in its inferior members, the unity in its head. And thus Christianity itself, as it proceeds from the mouth of God, takes the form of a few leading facts, of general maxims, of fundamental doctrines, which are left, not indeed to be developed according to the Romish theory, with a power of altering and omitting them, but to be applied to particular exigencies by the hands of the Church, and in still more minute detail by its individual ministers. Such a division of functions is rendered necessary by the very nature of man. For his eye, when placed at the head, and in the centre of a system, is too elevated to embrace all the contingencies of human life, and his hand too weak to direct them. He can see only general truths, which truths he receives from Heaven. Wisdom is his province and his virtue. And, on the other hand, the reason of the inferior members is too weak to ascend to high truths, and can only converse with particular facts. Prudence is their chief function—prudence under the direction of wisdom. In these days the functions are reversed. And those whom Providence has placed as rulers for the express purpose of guarding, and witnessing to, and proclaiming those grand first principles

which must be lost if left to individuals, and if lost, must drag with them the loss of all things, are now compelled, as their only safety, to eschew the assertion of anything approaching to a principle. And the existence of such principles is left to be discovered and enforced by the capricious and unaided speculations of self-appointed theorists; the rulers busying themselves with details, as if details were the only facts; and the ruled occupied with principles, as if they were placed in the seat of government.

What is true of legislation affecting only property and civil privileges, is still more true of a penal code. The ability to punish, even with death, necessarily resides with the supreme power in the State, and the right has been expressly given and confirmed to it by Him from whom only it can be derived. "The king beareth not the sword in vain. He is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."¹ But when this express and positive commission is abandoned, and rulers are thrown upon their own power, and their own views of expediency, to justify their use of the sword, there will follow not only impatience and resistance in the people, but in the ruler himself either a weak lenity or a cruel severity. An executioner scruples not to inflict death, because he acts under a commission from superior authority. As an arbitrary act it would be murder. And so, in the present day, we are witnessing a clamour against all capital punishments. And the government has given way to it, without any reference to the dispensation of it under the Levitical law, or to any other indication of the Divine will respecting it, conveyed to us through Revelation. Man must fear to destroy man, except under the sanction of the Creator of man. And where this sanction is

¹ Rom. xiii. 4.

repudiated, capital punishment must be abandoned, or, when inflicted, will be deemed murder. And, on the other hand, where man is left to himself, and recognises no restraint to his power from Divine law, there arises a strong temptation to compel obedience, to revenge opposition, and to deter from crime, by a continued aggravation of punishment. Cruelty in the penal code preceded its present superstitious lenity; and each rose up with a practical apostacy from the Church, and an abandonment of its discipline.

The whole theory of punishment must indeed be affected by such an act. Of its three great ends, one—the one which the Supreme Being chiefly proposes to Himself, and chiefly entrusts to His ministers—the exhibition of the moral law of retribution, and of moral reprobation itself,—must be wholly sacrificed, as it is sacrificed at present, to the inferior and hopeless objects of deterring by example, and of correcting the offender.

Man, with the sense of his own sin and shame upon his conscience, cannot stand over a fellow-mortal as a censor and judge. He cannot punish, except in the hope of warning or of improving. And his punishments must therefore be regulated only by views of expediency, in which it will be wholly impossible to make a correct calculation. Nothing but a positive command from the Almighty can secure, in an honest and self-condemned heart, the condemnation of our fellow-man from appearing to be hypocrisy. And thus the State is compelled to abandon one of its chief and most ennobling functions, that of witnessing to moral right and wrong, and of enforcing the moral laws of God in themselves, and independently of external considerations. And its punishments also fail in their object. They do not deter, as one of the wisest of statesmen has

observed;¹ for man, inflamed with his passions, is not deterred by any fear of consequences. And they do not correct; for mere suffering does not bring repentance, except it be accompanied by tenderness, and hope, and forgiveness, and a most delicate yet searching examination of the conscience, and all the consolations and encouragements, as well as warnings, which religion holds out, but which the State, without a Church, cannot employ without departing from its principles. It may erect a Juvenile Reformatory, or a Penitentiary, or exhaust ingenuity in contriving a prison-discipline. But, at every step, a hand is wanting—a tender and delicate, and yet a most powerful hand—which can unlock the gates of heaven, and which the State does not possess. It must apply to the Church; or, if not to the Church, at least to some form of a religious communion. And, once more, if its policy be consistent, it must admit into the dungeons of the criminals any and every form of opinion—any and every religious teacher. It must bring, or rather force, even into the prison, even upon the hardened profligate, or the awakened but ignorant penitent, that very evil of religious controversy, with all its doubts and difficulties, its exasperations and its unbelief, which it professes to regard, and justly regards, as one of the greatest mischiefs to mankind. For there can be no easy, general, undefined, vague tampering with a guilty soul, perhaps about to enter into the presence of his Maker, or, at least, to commence a new life upon earth, and requiring minute and specific instructions for his future conduct, as his only hope. He must be told not only of a God, but of a Saviour—not only of a Saviour, but of a Holy Spirit—not only of a Holy Spirit to sanctify

¹ Thucydides.

and support him in his struggles for amendment, but of the society and communion of Christians, through whom, and in whom, the assistance of that Spirit has been promised, and must be sought. He must hear of the Sacraments of the Gospel, as well as of its written word. And, beset, as he will be, with invitations to many altars, as well as to many teachers, he must be told how to discriminate between them. He must learn what the true Church is, and what heresy and schism are. And it must be pressed on him, not as a dogmatical polemical disputation about words and names, but as a practical, vital, essential law, from which there is no escape. Even without external teaching on such disputed points, when his attention is roused to the awful subject of religion, and to his own peril, the mere sight and presence of two or more religious teachers, each condemning and condemned by the mere fact of their bearing a different name, and worshipping in separate congregations, must open the whole controversy. "What shall I do to be saved?" will be asked with tenfold earnestness and perplexity before teachers, who, if they conform to the word of God, and to their own doctrines, must declare, that no one can be saved except in the one Church of Christ, and that either those who differ from themselves are excluded from that Church by their errors, or that they are themselves excluded by their own act of departing from it without a cause. Punishment for the reformation of criminals! alas! how is it to be attempted by a State without a creed or a Church? How can it reform without repentance, or preach repentance without baptism and the remission of sins, or remit sins without command from God, or correct them without the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the channels of grace which He has appointed?

What a spectacle is a benevolent and zealous monarch listening, as to the voice of an angel, to the message of the Gospel preached in a prison—not by the Church, but by a woman guilty both of heresy and schism, though full of benevolence and zeal! What a strange, but happy, inconsistency with all the maxims of the legislature of the day, is a Juvenile Reformatory placed under a Secretary of State, and under the exclusive teaching of a chaplain of the Catholic Church!

CHAPTER XXXI.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Such is the substance of some conversations which have passed between us on the subject of Political Society—not as developing a theory of our own, but as examining into its essential facts. And on whichever side we turned, still we were met by the same want and necessity of a Church, — and of a Church not founded on opinion, but on positive external institution by God Himself, and that institution confirmed to man by positive external historical testimony. . Whether to attest and confirm the authority of the civil power, or to train up subjects in obedience, or to educate, or reform, or instruct, or to uphold the fundamental principles on which all politics must be framed and must act, or to bind together foreign alliances and dependencies, or to nurse up colonies, or to evangelise the heathen, or to maintain the poor, or to establish the supremacy of law, or to perfect the analogy of all other associations formed by the Divine hand after the Divine image, by creating a bicapital rule, and a plurality in the unity of the nation,—still the need returned of a Catholic and Apostolical Church. And, without it, nothing seemed to await the social system but paralysis in all its noblest functions, and ultimate ruin.

On the last morning which we spent together, our walk led us to the edge of a lofty precipice, which hung crumbling over the shore; and as we looked down from it on the fragments of a stranded vessel, which had been wrecked, and lay

imbedded in the sand:—"Such, then," you said, after a pause, "is to be the destiny of England! With all its pride and power, its noble records, its blessings from Heaven, its inestimable talents, its rare and uncommunicated privileges, it is now doomed to lie a wreck among the nations,—an example of the judgments of Heaven upon empires which abandon their God. It is a bitter thought for all,—but how bitter, and how fearful to those who are compelled to take a part in its rule, now when they cannot rule for good, and thus must become partners, or even leaders and fomenters of its guilt! How ought a Christian to act under such a trial? And what means, even in the present advanced stage of evil, may still be taken to avert or to retard it?"

This is the question with which I propose now to close the present suggestions; reserving for separate inquiries two vast and vital portions of the theory of political society—the creation and distribution of its wealth, and the development of its statute-law, upon the true principles of Catholic Christianity. A Christian Political Economy, and a Philosophy of Christian Legislation, cannot be excluded from Christian Politics, and cannot be treated in a parenthesis.

We supposed, then, a nation like England to be so far advanced in corruption that a considerable portion of its population had severed themselves from the Church; that the Church itself had been maimed and impoverished by outward violence, and debilitated by its own lapse from the standard of positive law, of external truth, and of elevated spiritual piety; that meanwhile the popular element in the constitution had swollen to an exorbitant size, and threatened to engross nearly all the functions of the State; that neither a ministry nor a member of the Commons could long retain their

post in the face of a powerful minority, and that the measures of the State must, in a great degree, be conformed to the popular will. What, under such circumstances, must be the duty and the conduct of the Christian Statesman?

And, if only a small part of what has been suggested is correct, it must compel him to make his first object the restoration of the whole nation to the bosom and unity of the Church, and the restoration of the Church itself to its full purity and vigour. Without this there can be no hope. But how is this to be effected? It is to be effected by the Church herself. Once more let it be repeated, that the civil power, by itself, is impotent for such a work. "It has no healing medicines," no truth to uphold but what it receives through the Church, no spiritual blessing to administer, no promises or warnings of another world, no commission to preach, or to ordain, or to administer sacraments. If it attempts to touch the ark, and burn incense, and build an altar after the pattern of its own imagination, it can only add blasphemy and sacrilege to misfortune. It must act through the Church.

And yet, when it attempts to aid the Church in regaining its strength and vigour, it is met on all sides by difficulties. The people will not permit their own influence and wealth to be employed in maintaining a communion from which they have revolted. The representative of the people, even according to the justest theory of representation, can scarcely defy the opinion of his constituents on a subject so vitally affecting the conscience as religion. The State itself, stripped by its own act of a spiritual authority, cannot recover this by its own resumption, nor is the Church yet strong enough in her own independent title to enforce that of another. And if the State be a secular autho-

rity only, it has no right to interfere with religion. Even the Church herself, smarting under past wounds, and verging perhaps to extravagance with the energy of newly revived power, becomes jealous and suspicious of undue encroachment upon her own prerogatives in every interference even for her benefit; and much more, when that interference takes, as it must take in a time of recovery from corruption, the form of reformation, and compulsion to the discharge of long-neglected duties.

What, then, is left to the legislator?—First and foremost, he has still the power to witness boldly to the truth; to stand up, even in the most popular parliament, even before a mob, and to proclaim his own belief in the Church—not merely his attachment to her doctrines as a matter of opinion, or his conviction of its expediency as a political institution. This is not to confess the faith of a Christian, or to give any support to the Church, or to rescue, in any degree, truth from being crushed by opinion. Any infidel may do the same, and with as much authority and weight in favour of the most monstrous form of error. But he must declare his conviction of its positive institution, of its external truth, of its independent, spiritual, sacramental efficacy—conditions which place it at once beyond the reach of opinion, and give to it a character and influence which no other body can obtain.

As individual Christians, we are bound to “confess with the lips,” as well as to “believe with the heart.” To witness to the truth, whether it be received or not, is one of the chief functions and duties of our moral nature. It never can be done without effect; and it is done with peculiar efficacy by the supreme power and authority of the nation, to which all eyes look up. The intolerance of the present system of toleration has not yet succeeded

in silencing the confession of a catholic Christian; and if any false delicacy or compromise should reach this point, then a Christian must secede from public affairs, and take no part in measures, where he is precluded from delivering his testimony to the cause of his Lord and Master.

Secondly, he is bound to maintain and secure the Church in all its existing privileges and advantages. He may not be allowed to grant more; but he cannot be forced to take away what it possesses already. There is no sin in inability to become its "nursing father and its nursing mother;" but there is sin, deep and deadly sin, in robbing or degrading it further. And again, rather than become an accomplice in such acts, he must withdraw from public life; and, having uttered his solemn protestation, he must leave the crime to other men, and the punishment to Almighty God.

Thirdly, although he may not be permitted to give to it any new and peculiar privileges, he is bound to give to it such privileges as are possessed by other religious denominations. He will not argue for the maintenance of the Church, because the State is more able to fetter, and embarrass, and overrule it, than it can overrule any mere sects. He will not think this to be a good in itself, or a fit hint to be thrown out before men who meditate its destruction. Rather he will be anxious to secure for it every possible freedom and scope for developing its energies. And no voice can be raised against him from the advocates of the most unlimited toleration, so long as he only imparts to the Church what is already enjoyed by heretical and schismatical bodies. This does not, indeed, preclude some degree of restraint, from which heresy and schism may be free; for truth and right in this world must always act under greater limita-

tions and hindrances than falsehood and wrong. They deliberate more—they take in a wider range of relations—they act under positive law—their principles are more complicated and balanced—their calculations more cautious—their feelings and affections more moderate. But, with such exceptions, every obstacle should be removed which impedes the Church in running its career with the same advantages as others. Under this head will occur the power of assembling for its own self-government—of multiplying its bishops, though without creating them peers—of extending its missions—of building churches—of receiving grants of land and money—but especially of enforcing its discipline. Let the removal of the present restrictions upon its freedom in these points be measured by the freedom which dissent enjoys, and no just clamour can be raised against it.

Fourthly, it may be wise for the State, in its present enfeebled condition, to pause here, and to abstain from conceding to it certain things, which, if given to the Church, may be claimed by its enemies. If gifts to religion cannot be exclusive,—as exclusive as religion and truth are themselves,—it is better to withhold them. Better not assist any, than assist all, when such assistance compromises truth, and destroys character, and violates the first of God's laws. Let it be suggested humbly, and yet unhesitatingly, whether, in a peculiar manner, this rule is not applicable to grants of public money for purposes of education and religion. It is here that the State is most exposed to embarrassment. Remove this stumbling-block, and few other occasions will occur for giving encouragement to error. Withdraw all money-grants whatever from religious communions, except such as are due under obligations purely civil, and such as may be paid without

implying any approval of the objects to which they are applied. There is no sin in punctually paying a life-rent charged upon our estate, though it pass to the maintenance of heresy or vice. The receiver is responsible to God, not the payer of a just debt. And if either the *regium donum*, or the allowance for Maynooth, or any other payment of the kind, can be claimed upon any such principle, as legal rights, they may still be continued. Our will is not concerned with them. They are not gifts, but debts. But all that is voluntary and gratuitous ought without delay to be withdrawn; and may be withdrawn without raising any just cavil, because one of the fundamental principles, both of Romanism and of Dissent, is the repudiation of dependence upon the State. The Church alone might seem to have reason for complaint, that in its necessities it received no assistance from the power most interested in maintaining it. And yet are the considerations which follow wholly without weight? To whom does the money belong which the Church would receive? A certain proportion at least, by the present theory of our constitution, must be the property of a reluctant minority, and must be abstracted from them by a small majority. It is not laid upon the altar as a free gift, but as an extortion. Can it be acceptable to God? It belongs to men who have severed themselves from the one Catholic communion of Christ. And we know that even willing sacrifices from evil hands are an abomination to the Lord; and that the Catholic Church has never willingly accepted even spontaneous oblations from such sources. Moreover, it is not offered to God in homage to His name, or for the defence of His faith; because even the majority which votes it dare not make the grant exclusive—dare not withhold from error what they are giving

to truth. It is the hire of the Church as a servant to fulfil the functions of a moral police. As such, it sins against the third commandment, which forbids us to take the name of God in vain, — to employ His worship and His faith as a means and secondary instrument for a temporal object of our own, instead of upholding it for itself, as an all-sufficient absolute end: and we cannot participate in such an act and be held guiltless.

These thoughts may prevent us from confounding a tax imposed upon an unwilling people, for the maintenance of a road, or the construction of an hospital, with a tax reluctantly yielded to the Church. The Church itself must be as unwilling to receive as the people to pay it. And it is full of danger to the receiver. Now when the possessions of the Church are attacked, they may be defended as private property, by appealing to the same laws which guarantee the cottage of the peasant and the castle of the noble. Its glebe, its endowments, its tithes, even its church-rates, rest not so much upon acts of parliament—they were not national gifts, but private offerings—or, if guaranteed by law, they have been now so secured by prescription and inheritance, that they cannot be withdrawn without touching the foundations of all private property whatever. But allow a grant to the Church to appear in the votes of the House of Commons, and the whole mass of its property will become confounded with a payment from the Exchequer. And (such is the liberal theory of the day) they who have given a part will claim a right to resume the whole. And they will also claim a voice in its disposal; and how can the disposal of property for the purposes of the Church be intrusted to a fluctuating power, which may be wielded at any moment by the most violent of its enemies, or by the most mischievous of un-

principled supporters? Moreover, when the State declares, that if it gives to one, it must give to all, then each party, who either asks or receives, becomes an accomplice in the act. It tempts the State to sin. Nor is the public purse like private zeal, as a fund on which to draw. It has no heart, no spirit of self-sacrifice, no interest in the superintendence or completion of a work in all its finer details. Its gifts are the drainings and dribblets of a repining voluptuary or miser, not the free bounteous outpourings of Christian love. And we cannot recur to one spring of bounty without tending to dry up the other. They who need large offerings must not accustom givers to give through the gatherer of taxes, but into the hands of God's ministers at the altars. The fundamental principle of taxation is the direct contrary of Christian liberality. It is to give as little as is possible. All that exceeds the measure of absolute necessity is deemed extravagance and extortion : and the people are the judges of the necessity, because the money is acknowledged to be their own. True it is, that religion is as necessary to the nation as an army or a police. True, that it is necessary to those who reject, even more than to those who accept it, as none more need a physician than the sick who disdain his advice. But a statesman, in his acts, must at times calculate, not by the reasonableness of his own measures, but by the unreasonableness of those to whom they are addressed. He must beware of irritating even where he is able to overpower ; and, most of all, where the provocation may touch upon some string of conscience, however overscrupulous or false. For this reason he must beware of taxation, and of taxation for the purpose of propagating a faith rejected by any large portion of the nation.

He will consider also, that the claim to equal

assistance from the public money may be made with more justice than claims to any other equality ; because, in the present theory of society, the public exchequer scarcely ceases to be private property. It flows at least from the people ; whereas encouragements, such as grants of incorporation and honourable privileges, are the property of the crown, and may be dispensed by it without any claim to participation from the people, independent of the favour of the sovereign. It may be a conscientious act to withhold from the propagation of error a charter of incorporation, or an honorary privilege. But conscience can scarcely be pleaded for paying the ministers of one religion from the purse of the professors of another.

What, then, is to be said of the voluntary principle ? What, but that the voluntary principle has been always recognised and maintained by the Catholic Church ; but it is the voluntary principle fully and fairly carried out—one which allows the benevolence of Christians to perpetuate their gifts by endowment—to be bountiful beyond the grave—to aid and support the Church of Christ in the most effectual way, by placing it beyond dependence on the caprice of its inferior members. And there is no inconsistency between a refusal to grant money to the Church from public funds, and the most rigid maintenance of all its rights flowing from past endowments, in whatever shape they may be paid. The voluntary principle touches not the question of tithes, or even of church-rates. Whatever was the origin of such payments, they have long been established as fixed charges upon property—as such they have entered into purchases and sales, and have become debts, the discharge of which can in no way wound the conscience of the debtor. And even in their origin tithes were

no gift from the State, which the State is at liberty to resume. The State never claimed tithes as its own, and therefore could never give them away. But it recognised them as a debt due to the Almighty, the obligation of which generally was established by reason and conscience, and its particular amount ascertained by the positive institutions of God in the Levitical law; and which the State enforced, as it would enforce the due discharge of any just debt to man. And conscience has no more place in refusing to pay them, than in withholding an annuity charged by a testator on his estate, because the receiver will apply it to purposes which we disapprove. Neither tithes nor church-rates can belong or be appropriated to the payer. Nor can they be seized by the State without an act of sacrilege. They are the property of God, and they must be applied to the support of religion under some form or other. It is intelligible to claim that they may be transferred from a communion which we reject to one which we approve. But it is unintelligible and inexcusable—it is nothing short of barefaced sacrilege—to abstract them altogether from the altar, and to expend them upon man. And when the question is raised, to which communion and creed they shall be attached, either they must be shared amongst all, with no other law of proportion but that of numbers, or they must be continued in the same hands to which they have belonged from the first—to the Catholic Church—that Church which was not founded but purified at the Reformation, and which retained, with the doctrines and the ministerial succession, all the rights and claims of the ancient apostolical Church. And if the legislature would be consistent, they must, if they touch at all the property of the Church, portion out what they rob from it among every variety of sects, from

Romanism to Socialism : they cannot pause. If the Church be not the true and only form of religion acceptable to God, and the State decides what is true, not by His appointment, but by its own fancy and opinion, it must recognise all claims alike. And they must found a Church of their own to receive the property of the Church—a Church having neither creed, nor defined worship, nor external communion, nor united authority—a name and name only to comprehend every possible extravagance of the human fancy, and yet pronounced by the voice of man to be the true representative of Christianity in defiance of God Himself.

And thus, without entering farther into the theory of religious endowments, which fall properly under the head of Economics, it may be possible, as it is a duty for the Christian statesman, to maintain the present possessions of the Church in their integrity, even upon purely legal and civil principles, without raising any cavil of conscience. But in doing this—in taking this lower ground—he must beware of not abandoning the highest. It is one of the great temptations in the present day, and it has produced inconceivable mischief, to employ and to rest upon secondary arguments, simply because they are tenable; without putting forward those which are primary. In this way debate may, indeed, be stifled, and objections overpowered; but truth is sacrificed: all nobler and better thoughts are tacitly suppressed and set aside as unpractical; the public mind is gradually bent into a wrong bias, and learns to view all subjects in a mean and unworthy light; and the statesman abandons his first duty of witnessing boldly to truth and right, whether others will hear or whether they will forbear. The Church is to be maintained in her possessions, because those possessions have been either claimed by God Himself, as

tithes, or have been given to Him, as other endowments. They are the property of God, and they must be secured to the true servants of God, not to pretenders ; and therefore must be maintained in the hands of the Catholic Church. All beyond this, as it affects the duty of the statesman, is superfluous ; and as it affects the caviller, can only silence him without convincing. It is like the sword of Goliath—useful to decapitate the enemy when slain with a pebble from the brook—but it can scarcely be employed in the battle without encumbering the champion, and abandoning the weapons of the Lord.

Fifthly, the same principle of maintaining the powers that be, and of preserving to all their existing rights, must be extended to schismatical bodies, as well as to the Church. Property and privileges and advantages which they now enjoy, may be permitted to them, whether they were rightly or wrongly conferred at first. The conscience of the statesman is not compromised by adhering to existing engagements. And however anxiously he may pray that they may ultimately die away and be extinguished, this, he knows, can be effected only by the extinction of dissent itself ; and this extinction by the voluntary return of dissenters into the unity of the Church ; and this by the revived energy, holiness, truth, reason, patience, and self-devotion of the Church itself.

And in thus contemplating Dissent as an evil and a sin, which, however fearful, must still be tolerated, and apparently even encouraged for a time, a Christian statesman will never forget who have been most guilty in producing it ; and, secondly, that in individuals who labour under it are contained many a seed of good, which may be nurtured into piety and truth. Where Dissent is hereditary, it may

even spring from a spirit of faith—from humility and self-distrust, from reverence to parents and teachers, from adherence to that which seems positive and appointed by God—principles not to be extirpated, but to be developed, by shewing where only they can be realised. Where it has grown up remote from the teaching of the Church, nothing may, perhaps, be wanted but that teaching to win it back to the fold of Christ. Where it is the result of piety and earnestness driven into extravagance by the coldness and secularity of the Church, there it is even to be loved and pitied more than censured. And before Dissent is sternly condemned, the Church is to be restored to warmth and energy. Mutual self-reproach, mutual sorrow, mutual shame, mutual penitence, mutual forbearance—and all accompanied with the rigid assertion of that which we believe to be true, the only true, and with a patient endeavour to convince each other by reason,—these are the feelings to be encouraged, both in the Church and in Dissent. And this would be perfectly compatible with a steady refusal to give to Dissent any new encouragement, or to invest it with any new privileges. This cannot be done without a sin. And if a minister or a member of parliament cannot retain his power without thus abusing it, once more he must protest and retire. No conscientious Dissenter, whether Romanist or other, would give to the Church any prerogative or power which he could withhold. And he has no right to demand of another that which he would not give himself: and so obvious is this simple rule, that scarcely any claim is ever now made for peculiar favour. Every demand is masqued under a plea of universal toleration. And when this has been obtained, and the Church has been destroyed by it, then will follow the struggle to restore the exclusive domination of some one

body. Such has ever been the policy of Rome in an especial manner: she has fostered and multiplied sectarianism, that in the chaos thus created her own reorganising power may be more needed, and have freer scope. And the same deep knowledge of human nature, which, if we may trust historians, induced her to aid in placing William III. upon the throne, induces her now to promote the so-called national education in Ireland, that from a board of every denomination there may emanate a multitude of schools attached to her own nunneries and chapels.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AND now we reach the chief, but not perhaps the most difficult object and duty of a Christian statesman — the invigoration of the Church, and its restoration to the full discharge of its functions in the body politic.

And, at the very threshold, the temptation will beset him which has been the ruin of empire after empire. He will stumble at the independence of the Church. He will be unable to reconcile it with the unity and supremacy of his own power. He will be jealous of its authority, and afraid of its interference. And unless he has an intellect which can grasp the theory of society in all its extent, and a faith and obedience which will submit to every positive institution of Heaven, however it may seem to confine or embarrass his movements, he will endeavour to make the Church his servant instead of his colleague; and the Church, blinded and manacled by its tyrant, will either lie in impotent decay, or its strength will grow, even in its dungeon, and, when roused, will revenge itself by pulling down the whole fabric of the empire upon the heads of the people. If a statesman cannot submit to the spiritual independence of the Church, all political philosophy is useless. The fate of the nation is sealed.

This independence, which in no way sacrifices the co-ordinate independence of the civil power, is exhibited principally in three points. And its exhibition before the eyes of the world is that which is most needed. Without independence it can neither

support the authority of the civil power, nor teach, nor uphold truth, nor perform any other vital function. It sinks into a mere creature and instrument of man. And its supernatural power has departed. The blind may cry out to it, the paralysed be laid down at its feet, the sick for years cling to the hem of its garment, the wanderers pray to it for light, and the poor for bread, and the noise of the waves, and the madness of the people, rage on without a voice to still them. As human it is powerless. Only as Divine can it perform its miracles. And if Divine, then, in all its healing works, it must possess independence. So our blessed Lord stood upon earth as the Lord of all things, as opening the gates of heaven, as the fountain of life and truth to the world; He who in outward things pertaining to the sovereignty of the State submitted to be taxed, and seized, and scourged, and nailed to a cross, without a murmur. The problem of the mutual supremacy and mutual subjection of the Church and of the State has already been realised in His person. Strange and paradoxical as it may seem, it has been exhibited as a fact, and His Church must go and do likewise.

The spiritual independence of the Church is exerted chiefly in three points: in the preservation and transmission of Divine truth from a source distinct from the State—in the appointment of her own officers as channels for the conveyance of her spiritual gifts—and in her internal self-discipline and government: and in each of these, though they are her peculiar and inalienable prerogatives, she has admitted the Civil Power to a certain participation, which gives to that Power a wonderful opportunity of strengthening and supporting her.

First, it is an acknowledged privilege of Christian sovereigns to sanction the assemblage of ecclesiastical synods and councils. Whether conceded or not,

this privilege must be possessed, and must be exercised by the supreme civil power, since no State could permit such meetings to be held, in opposition to itself, without abandoning its own sovereignty. But the power to suppress, gives also the right to encourage. And the first object of a Christian statesman would be to restore to the Church, in this country, such a visible incorporation of its legislative functions as may exhibit its real divine and independent character to the world. The duties of such a body, when assembled, are not political, but ecclesiastical questions. And when it is considered, that for the settlement of articles of faith a national synod has no authority, and is not required, because these have already been fixed in the great oecumenical councils of the early Church; that an attempt to define, and multiply, and enforce dogmatic statements, beyond these fundamental articles, is most dangerous to the peace of the Church, and to the conscience of its members; that the necessary protests against the chief errors of the day have already been drawn up in our Articles; that new laws, and multiplied tests, and the alteration of formularies, can scarcely ever be risked without the certainty of schism, because a project of change lets loose all imaginations and desires with equal freedom; that when the principle of authority and the habit of obedience have long been in abeyance, it is most perilous to convene assemblies, where the inferior members cannot oppose the superior without the danger of dismembering the whole body; that the history of ecclesiastical councils, even in the earliest times, is full of warnings against their frequency; that the whole spirit of the Christian polity is opposed to the establishment of a permanent legislative body, such as our parliaments, crowding every session with statute upon statute, and holding the empire from day to

day suspended on the prospect of political and ecclesiastical changes: when these and other facts are considered, whatever be the impatience and dissatisfaction at the present virtual suppression of a national synod in this empire, it will require profound wisdom and caution to restore it. One rule in effecting this is obvious—to return to the early ages of the Christian Church, and to its own Divine polity as far as it can be traced, and to follow this model. It may not be without a providential blessing that convocation is now virtually extinct, and may be abandoned for a form more consistent with the true functions and characters of the Church. It was in its origin a political, not a spiritual assembly—its business was the settlement of taxation, not the government of the Church. Its division into two houses is essentially at variance with the true theory of the episcopal office. And the only seeming advantage of this form, in offering an analogy and parallelism to the constitution of parliaments in the State, is in reality a vital evil; because the Church is placed in the State to counteract, not to coincide with the excesses of its democratical element, and must therefore exhibit both a form and a spirit of far higher faith and obedience than can be manifested in the civil power. A physician who would restore sight to the blind must not assimilate himself with his patient, by first extinguishing his own eyes. Difference, not similarity, must in some points be the character of the Church, even when most closely connected with the State.

And convocation being abandoned, only let us beware of inventing any contrivance of our own in its place, whether a synod of bishops, or a representation of the clergy in one body, or what is more in accordance with the centralising tendency of the age, a royal or parliamentary commission. Let us

return to the old primitive constitution of national councils in the original system of the Church ; and be assured that any thing approaching to a Divine external institution will possess more authority, more permanence, and more efficiency for good, than any invention of man.

With a general national council, typical of the independence of a national Church, it will be also necessary to restore diocesan synods, as representatives of the proper independence of each bishop and diocese. In the necessity for gathering together the Church within the pale of one empire, there has been a disposition to overlook this point ; and in protesting against Popery, we have, to a certain degree, fallen into a Popery of our own. But here also we may recur to the model of the ancient patriarchates, and not carry the theory of uniformity so far as to extinguish an essential element in the Divine polity of the Church. If the element of unity is to be restored to the Church by the establishment of a national council, the element of plurality must also be restored to the Episcopacy itself.

Secondly, to the State there has also been given a very considerable share in the nomination of the officers of the Church. And this privilege also, even if not conceded, must have been exercised. No supreme power could abstain from using influence, either open or secret, either by violence, or intrigue, or suggestion, or even corruption, in the choice of persons called to exercise an authority morally superior to its own, within its own dominions. But in every trace of Episcopal election, even in the age of the apostles, is indicated a certain participation by the laity in the choice, though not in the ordination, of the clergy. And if a mob was permitted in early ages to drag a bishop into his throne, and almost to compel the metropolitan to

consecrate him, it can be no strange thing that the representative and head of the lay power in the State, though excluded from all power of ordination, should claim a voice, and a very powerful voice, in the nomination of bishops, as in the appointment of subordinate ministers to certain parishes by the right of patronage. Little is wanted here but a judicious selection in the recommendation of persons to be elected, and the removal of those severe penalties upon a refusal to consecrate, which, though they cannot shackle the Church, if the Church is firm in her duty, yet may tempt and terrify her to do wrong, and have now no longer the excuse of being necessary bulwarks against treason and foreign interference.

Providence seems, indeed, to have preserved in the polity of the English Church, even in the midst of decay and ruin, the rudimental organs from which it may now be developed in perfection, without recurring to any fundamental change. As the laity possessed a voice in the appointment of the ministers of the Church, so also did the clergy. And the three concurrent elements, of laity witnessing to character, clergy electing, and bishops consecrating, are still actually preserved among us to this day, and require only to be invigorated and adjusted. If the crown, still by necessity a member of the Church, and not the ministers of the crown, swayed as they are by the popular voice, recommended the individuals to the clergy—if this recommendation was exercised after a proper consultation with the heads of the Church—if it contained three or more names, so as to leave the election free—if the *præmunire* penalties were removed—if the cathedral body was then so enlarged as to comprehend the whole clergy, or a fair representation of the clergy of the diocese (and this might be effected by enlarging the power to

elect honorary prebendaries and canons, under an existing statute)—if the solemn and awful ceremony of election was thus restored to its true power, and if free permission was then conceded to the metropolitan of withholding consecration, little would be wanted to render this part of our Church-polity primitive, apostolical, and catholic. And the life thus poured into the veins of the Church would spread itself healthily and vigorously over the whole body of society. Every act of emancipation towards the Church, conducted on true Catholic principles, and in obedience to the institution of God, would be an act of salvation to the State.

There is, indeed, greater difficulty in restoring to the Church its independence in the exercise of its internal discipline; and the question has been almost inextricably involved, first, by the injudicious interference of the State, in former times, to enforce spiritual penalties by the civil arm; and, secondly, by the encroachments and usurpations of the Church, and by its present consequent imbecility. In this complicated state it is presumptuous to do more than suggest certain principles for inquiry—and here, also, to assert only one general duty, that of returning in faith and humility to the old path, whatever it may be, which the hand of Heaven has marked out.

But the following questions may be hazarded:—

1. Is there any power upon earth which can lawfully prohibit the Church from the right possessed by every religious community, of maintaining her own terms of communion, and of excluding from it members who are obnoxious to her?

2. Can she be deprived of the power of recommending, and of enforcing, under pain of exclusion, penitential discipline upon offenders within her pale, who voluntarily submit to her correcting hand?

3. When she has once excluded contumacious

offenders, are they not entirely free from her jurisdiction, and therefore not amenable to her punishments?

4. Can the State properly punish members of the Church for spiritual offences, except as administering the chastisements, and acting in the name and under the restrictions of the Church?

5. Properly speaking, does the Church inflict any punishment whatever but excommunication, except for the purpose of correction, and upon voluntary penitents, when the arm of the State is not required?

6. If excommunication, and the dread of it, have no efficacy to bring minds to repentance, can the civil arm do more by any terrors than induce a reluctant and hypocritical continuance in the bosom of the Church, contrary to the spirit and admonitions of the Church itself?

7. And does it not follow, that before excommunication the State cannot wisely interfere to support the arm of the Church in inflicting her corrections, or in exhibiting her threats, and that after excommunication it cannot deal with offences as spiritual, or with members excluded from the Church as if the Church had any right over them?

If these suggestions are true, it must be the duty of the Statesman at once to detach from the spiritual excommunication every temporal punishment and forfeit now attached to it. To the State, as to every individual member of the Church, it would still be left to treat the excommunicated party as the Catholic Church enjoins—to avoid his society, to shrink from his contamination, to refrain from every act or word which would imply indifference to his offence, much more which would sympathise with and encourage it. In thus acting, Christians would not be assuming the office of a judge, or even

of an executioner, on a fellow-creature — any more than the by-standers in a court of justice, when they listen and conform to the advice of shunning evil doers, are guilty of uncharitableness or arrogance. They would act in obedience to the commands of the Church — and obedience excludes all thoughts of self, all pride, all self-sufficiency, all contempt for others. The most rigid exclusion of excommunicated persons from all share in our society or favour may be compatible with the deepest compassion and the truest Christian love, to be shewn in restoring them to their fold.

Does it not follow also that, however unjustly and severely the Church may at times have exercised its right of excommunication, abusing it most profanely to purposes of private revenge, and to the meanest compulsion — however the power may require to be stringently confined within charity and justice, still these restrictions are to be laid down by the Church acting through its heads, not by the State. The State can have had no pretence whatever to interfere with the right of excommunication, except as having attached to it certain punishments of her own, from which she might seem justified in securing an innocent subject. Remove these temporal penalties, and the Church is left to herself. She must bear upon her own head the indiscretion or severities which she may commit. And the State, like any individual Christian, may exercise her own judgment, and endeavour to soften or avert, or procure their repeal by such intercession and mitigation of her punishments as are consistent with a due reverence to the Church. So the Church sometimes interfered to allay the anger, or alleviate the inflictions of the civil arm. And this reciprocal influence of mercy is perfectly compatible with the acknowledgment of a rightful independence in each.

This independence established, a Christian statesman would then take a wide, comprehensive view of the whole body of the Church—would observe where it was weak, where deficient, and would endeavour to strengthen it, and supply its wants by all the influence which he could legitimately exert in such a cause, and which he might fairly consider his own—not such as the public funds, which are derived partially from the enemies of the Church—but such as the Church herself might delight to accept in her supporters.

When his eye turned upon her bishops, and then reverted to the first ages of the gospel, he would not rest till he had seen them multiplied in every direction, in the colonies as in the mother country, till the whole body of the Church were placed effectually under Episcopal nurture and control. The erection of the British empire into a patriarchate, if this could be effected consistently with the practice of the ancient Church; the elevation of the present bishoprics to the dignity of metropolitans—either the subdivision of the present sees, or the creation of suffragan bishops; the appointment of coadjutors to administer a diocese in the sickness of its diocesan—if, indeed, this would be needed when bishoprics were diminished in size, and the number of them increased; the restoration of the Scotch Episcopacy to a full and affectionate communion with the Church in England; the union of the colonial and American Episcopacy of, and the Eastern Church with our own; a hearty sympathy and co-operation with the persecuted Church in Ireland: all this might be contemplated by a statesman who loved his Lord and Master more than he was jealous of his Master's Church. It would trench upon no principle of toleration, would infringe no right of dissent, could raise no cavil worthy of reply. Little beyond this

would be needed but funds, and funds never were wanting to accomplish a Christian work, nobly conceived in zeal, and faithfully executed in obedience. To accomplish great works we need vast funds! Rather let us say, that to accumulate vast funds we need great works. Let us be vast in our undertakings for God's glory, and He will be vaster still in the bounty which He provides for us.

And expenses are not to be calculated upon the scale to which we have been accustomed. When Christian zeal and love return, there will return with them the love of poverty; and Christian bishops will be found to devote themselves to the Church, whether at home or abroad, with far humbler means of support than now seem necessary. They will go forth not alone, but with a body of clergy as in better days, and the united means of such a little association will economise expenses, and their exhibition of the image of the Church in such a form, in a life of communion and of love, of conformity to rule, of external law and worship, of joint duties of benevolence and charity, will do more to recall wanderers into the fold, than all the splendour of a palace, or the revenues of a prince. Here, also, the defect in our present organisation is to be supplied by a recurrence to the fundamental axiom of society. Unity is the essence of Episcopacy; but it must not be separated from a plurality in the co-operation of presbyters. And when a bishop shall form, in his palace, little colleges, and gather round him in his cathedral a closely associated body of clergy, all publicly taking a part in the services of the Church, living, many of them, under one roof and at one table, exercising, at the distribution of the bishop, the various offices required of them; served, not by liveried hirelings, but by a humbler class of attendants, who (as inferior officers of the Church) may

sit at the lower end of the same board, who may wear no very different garb, may be reared and nurtured in religious learning, and employed in feeding the poor, and instructing the young, and ministering to the sick;—when, through the body thus formed, the bishop can find eyes to inspect the most distant parts of his diocese, hands to multiply his communications with his clergy, ears to receive their questions, and feet to carry the gospel wherever it is needed in his district, and especially in his cathedral city;—when his palace shall thus become not only an organised centre for the spiritual government of the diocese, but an exhibition of Christian life, and of clerical duty in all its parts, gathering under its wing a seminary for the clergy, a school for the young, an hospital for the sick, a treasury of books for learning, a simple table for hospitality to all, and a cathedral for its daily worship:—then Episcopacy will indeed put on its crown, and the Church of England will once more have strength to recover her strayed children to herself. What is wanted for the clergy is the unity of Episcopal control; and what is wanted for Episcopacy itself is the plurality of an incorporated clergy. We need colleges for our bishops. So acted the ancient Church: so thought not modern legislators when they destroyed, instead of purifying and invigorating, our cathedral bodies. But the Church may still restore them; and even now it is not too late for penitence in the State.

And if we turn to the subordinate ministrations of the Church, there the same principles will recur.

As the laity naturally subdivided themselves into two classes, one exercising the ordinary and general functions of society, the other the extraordinary; one embodying the permanent principle, the other the mutable and contingent—both which exist together in the world; one possessing privileges

exclusive of individual merit, the other individual talents—so the Church ought to possess in its body two distinct organs and classes; of which the names, if borrowed from the falsely contrived system of Popery, ought to be reversed, and the parochial clergy should be called regular, and the other class, of which, alas, we possess too few examples, secular. It must have both priests and Levites.

The preaching of the word in the congregations, the celebration of divine offices, the administration of the sacraments, the general superintendence and government of the body,—these are the ordinary functions of the Church, without which its life perishes; and for these it possesses its parochial clergy. They carry the element of unity through all the framework, and into the very extremities of society. And as the parochial system originally moulded itself upon the imperfect arrangements and divisions of the civil power, so the civil power will now do wisely in retaining, so far as possible, in any redistribution of its own districts for whatever purpose, the arrangements of the Church. If the union of the Church and the State, in the polity at large, be true and good, and consistent with the Divine nature, it must be carried into every part. And though much has been done already to dis sever them in the parish as in the State, fresh disturbances may be prevented. Let us beware, as Burke has warned us, of thinking to gather together the affections and interests of men—of occupying them in political duties wider than the sphere of the family, as they must be occupied, if they are to become citizens—of creating for them these little fields for the exercise of great virtues—by squaring the country into chequers, No. 1 and No. 2, with the measuring-line and the compasses. If Nature herself does not circumscribe the limits of our local associations and affections, as

she circumscribes the boundaries of kingdoms, by the mountain, the lake, the forest, or the shore (and circumscribed they must be, if they are to be developed at all), one only other way remains to mark an outline, by fixing a centre. And that centre must not be severed from the one grand common centre of all human good, and happiness, and virtue. It must be the house of God. There is a deep—the deepest—political philosophy in gathering the thoughts and feelings of every little community into which the nation must subdivide itself round the parish church and the village steeple. By it, at its very gates, erect the little hall for dispensing village justice; but never let them be dissevered. Keep them distinct, yet united. Remove from consecrated walls the squabbles of vestries and the settlement of rates. If the priest sit side by side with the magistrate on the bench, let it be as a witness of justice—as a pleader for mercy—not as a civil judge. But when the eye of the citizen first passes from the circle of his home, and recognises above him the vaster sphere and power of the State, let it rest upon the Church in his parish, as it must hereafter rest upon the Church in the empire, as the source of his life, the rule of his actions, the hallow of his home, the link between earth and heaven, the bond which binds together men in one body, and generations in one being—as the nurse and the mother of man—and as the image of God. It is to aid in rearing him as a member of Christ's body that even civil politics have been established upon earth; and they will never better secure the allegiance of their subjects than when they exhibit their own faithfulness in discharging their trust, and their own reverence for a power which reverences them in return, and which is their colleague and co-adjutor under a like Divine commission.

But the principle of unity, in the parochial system, must not be dissevered from plurality. One priest in every parish, as one bishop in every diocese, is a fundamental law of sound ecclesiastical polity. But the priest, like the bishop, requires aid, and counsel, and support, and hands to work with him, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, for him. And if he stand alone as an individual, in many, many cases, he must be all but powerless. Once more we require the principle of incorporation; and our parochial, like our episcopal system, will never obtain its full strength until, in nearly every parish, certainly in all of any magnitude, the priest gathers round him a little body of curates, associates them intimately with himself, forms them, as far as possible, into a little college under or adjoining his own roof, places himself and them, to a certain extent, under the discipline of fixed rules, exhibits the person of the Church to his people under the form of an incorporation, not of an individual; and though he retains in his own hands the one controlling, governing power, governs by means of a body which enlarges his sphere of action, multiplies his faculties and senses, covers his defects, augments his means, and almost gives ubiquity and perpetuity to his being, within his little province.

What the precise limit of parishes should be, when any re-arrangement of them is made, should depend not so much perhaps on the amount of population, or the extent of district, as on the circle already fixed by some civil distribution. It may be questioned whether, if it were possible, it might not be a wiser plan to throw towns into a single parish, than to divide one into many; and to gather the clergy of the town together into one body, giving them as much as possible a corporate character and life, and placing them as curates under one head,

rather than to dissipate their energies, and perhaps introduce even discordance and collision, by individualising them, and fixing distinct centres and spheres of their spiritual operation, within one civil circle.¹

But in addition to its bodies of priests, the Church also requires its bodies of Levites. Or rather, the State and the Church require them alike.

There are in every political society a multitude of offices to be discharged—offices of charity, of education, of attendance on the sick, of superintendence over the poor, which can only be well discharged under the following conditions:—

First, that they be voluntarily undertaken in the spirit of self-sacrifice and love; secondly, that they be imbued not only with benevolent feeling, but with truth, the highest and the purest truth; thirdly, that they be supported by vast funds, which can only be obtained from private zeal and munificence,

¹ The authority under which this latter plan has been recently recommended is so great, and local difficulties and objections to any other may be so numerous, that the suggestion is only thrown out as a question, on which the practical experience and Christian zeal which have offered the sacrifice, are entitled to far more weight than an *a priori* theory. The plan of associating the rector and his curates in something of the collegiate form has already been tried at Cirencester, and it is understood with the happiest success. Something of a similar attempt has been made in Bethnal Green. And generally it has been recommended in a little work by the Rev. H. Wilberforce, which has attracted considerable attention. One condition is imperatively required, that the rules of life under which such an association is formed, if in any point they may approach to singularity, when compared with the present practice of the Church in England, should be submitted to, and be authorised by the Bishop; and that in reintroducing a new element into the system of our ecclesiastical polity, nothing should be done without his superintendence, or calculated to shock and offend a weaker brother by needless assimilation with a foreign and hostile communion.

since taxation can never supply them ; fourthly, that they be executed, not by individuals, who are unequal to the task, but by incorporations ; fifthly, that these incorporations be not merely associated in name, as a body of trustees and governors, but be domesticated together, and devote their whole time and interest to their allotted duties. Let any of these conditions be wanting, and in the same degree the work will be imperfect. And this is no new theory. It is acknowledged, partially or wholly, in every charter of incorporation given to an university, or a college, or a religious society, or an hospital. The State, even now, most rightly perceives that its office is not so much to originate such movements, or any movements in the body politic, as to direct, steady, and sanction the movements which spring up within it. It is the balance-wheel—not the primary spring ; and its functions are thus restricted, because it has no strength to impel the whole machine, and because its object is not to supersede the free agency of its subjects, but to encourage and guide it. The Almighty Himself has so confined His own moral, and perhaps even His physical government of the universe. And whenever the State departs from its central rest, and flies off to originate and absorb the motions which should proceed from below, it acts as if the sun, in any disturbance of the planetary system, should leave its seat in the heavens, and roll off to adjust a distant star, leaving all behind it to disturbance and ruin. Rest is a condition of government even more than action. The *nisus*, therefore, or effort to create these bodies, and to fulfil these offices, must proceed, not from the ruler, but from the people. And what is now important to observe, they must proceed from the people as members of a Christian Church.

There is scarcely a more remarkable phenomenon

in political history, than the rise and multiplication of voluntary religious societies in this country, as in the middle ages. Associations, not merely for the self-indulgence of contemplation or ease, but for active social duties, seem peculiar to Christianity. Scarcely a trace of them can be found under any other system of religion. And the account of this fact is, that no other religion has possessed even in theory a similar spirit of self-sacrifice, or a similar power of engrafting the love of man upon the love of God. Nor, practically, has any offered a supernatural assistance to support and maintain it in action.

A Christian spirit is essential to the formation of these voluntary religious associations.

But it is not sufficient that this spirit should take the form of a vague, general, enthusiastic benevolence, venting itself without rule or direction. Even in this shape it is not to be treated with ridicule and contempt. For when rule and direction are given to it, it is the spring of many of the most vital functions in the body politic. There may be much to lament, and much to be corrected, in the excited oratory of platforms, in itinerant missions, in promiscuous associations, in the vanity, bustle, display, and waste of labour, and money, and time, which are necessary accompaniments of the present popular system of religious societies. But a wise statesman and a humble Christian will not turn from them with scorn. They want but one element—order; and order can only be found in obedience, and obedience where there is a constituted Divine authority, and such an authority in the Church, and in the Church under the administration of Episcopacy. Introduce this element of order, and the present heterogeneous and capricious movements of Christian zeal will throw themselves into a very different form. And the statesman will at last possess

the means of executing all his functions of benevolence, or rather he will see them executed by the voluntary efforts of a Christian people, under the control of their Christian priesthood. And little more will be required of him than to give them his countenance and sanction, protection for their property, facilities for acting as incorporated bodies, and such a co-operating superintendence and control, as must reside in the hands of the supreme civil power; and without which the civil power would be perplexed with the growth of a multitude of powerful bodies within his own empire, but independent of his will and authority.

The time even now may come, when, as Christian Englishmen turn their eyes upon the thousands of children who are left in our manufacturing districts to grow up in ignorance and vice, some few will be found to associate themselves together for the purpose of undertaking, in some portion, the work of education. It is possible to imagine that these may arise, not among the less instructed and refined classes, but among the most gifted and learned, who may understand that the education even of a child requires talent and moral power as much, or even more, than the speculations of philosophy; and that, in the present state of this country, few objects possess more magnitude or interest than the condition of the young among the poor. It is possible that such minds, roused by Christian zeal, and disciplined by the Catholic principles of the Church, may place themselves at the disposal of their bishop, for the establishment of a school, may request his advice and superintendence in framing rules to regulate their own domestic life, and their system of education—that they may wish to exhibit to the world a simple fare, a humble dress, a plain unornamented abode, in which Divine worship only

should be invested with any thing like splendour, and a strict and regulated economy in all that relates to their personal enjoyment—that living together at a common board and under a common roof, they should desire to submit themselves to one superior Head, and to place themselves under the obligation of certain defined rules—that they should cement their union by the full spirit of Christian love, and knowing no duty higher than their duty towards God, and no mode of succeeding in any undertaking, especially in the education of others, without His blessing, and no mode of obtaining His blessing without prayer; that they should desire that the worship of the Church, morning and evening, and any other domestic assemblages for the same purpose which the bishop might approve, should form a regular part of their daily occupation—that for this purpose they should obtain his permission to raise a chapel within their precincts, as almost their first work,—that they should then distribute among themselves, or rather accept at the distribution of their Head, the various parts of education—each taking that portion which best accorded with his own talents, and all uniting to infuse into the system an elevated devotion and zeal—that they should then receive the children of the poor to be instructed as gratuitously as it was possible; their own resources being supplied from their personal means, and from the benevolence of the rich; and all that was contributed by the children being applied to the general interests of the school—that, resolving to educate all their young in the full unmutilated creed of a Catholic Christian, and to teach them to reverence, as God has commanded, His Church and His ministers, as well as His written word; and knowing also that a school is no fit place for proselytism, and that even to proselytise children against the will or the

opinions of their parents, is an unauthorised assumption of responsibility, and if not wholly futile, is yet pregnant with mischief—they should refuse to charge themselves with the care of any children who were not really members of the Catholic Church—that in this way they should be able to exhibit in its fulness the nature of the Catholic Church, by the life of a community of Catholic Christians; and to rear up another generation, not in a vague and frigid morality, without warm affections or definite truth, but in love, reverence, and obedience to their mother Church. It is no idle speculation to suppose, that such a spectacle in itself would diffuse round it an extraordinary influence for good; that it would attract the eyes of the poor, would win them to truth, would conciliate the respect of all, would obtain from Christian benevolence all necessary funds; and would secure its own perpetuity and consistent action, which, in an individual, however gifted and however good, could never be attained. One instance given—and such a system once established—and imitation would be easy; and though, with our present manufacturing principles, even the extension of the plan could do little to ameliorate many of its miseries, some real and solid prospect would be opened of educating, where education was attempted, as Christians should be educated. A hired schoolmaster, a committee of householders, the single arm for a hundred children, the admixture of sects, the stinted religious instruction, the rare visit from the clergy already burdened with their peculiar ministerial offices, the absence of love, of sympathy, of reverence, of any sense of the presence or nature of the Church—circumstances which, more or less, prevail in our present national schools—all these thoughts deaden and discourage even Christian zeal, when called on

to aid in such a work. But let a hope be once held out of educating the poor, not only in the name and in the outward principles of the Church, but in her bosom, under her wing, by her eye, her voice, her hand, raised over the young, visibly and palpably in the presence of an incorporated community—and then indeed education will become a blessing—and for the work both funds and workers will rise up, by the blessing of God, in abundance, even greater than is required.

And here how many a reader may close this book as an avowed recommendation of monasticism. And yet no such recommendation has been given. It has, indeed, recommended, first, the association of Christians for purposes of education; but associations already exist, in the National Society, and in every other combination for the purpose of promoting the diffusion of knowledge. And it has recommended the union of many teachers in a single school, rather than the committal of the office to a single individual. And who can deny that, if feasible, one plan is better than the other? That such teachers should live together as brothers—that they should be placed under the control of a head—that they should exhibit a simple and self-denying life—that all their acts should be hallowed by the worship of God—in all this, whether practised in monasteries or not, what is there to censure? But monasticism was guilty of sins, which, in such a system, need find no place. It withdrew itself from Episcopal control. It gathered together bodies of men, not for practical duties, but for abstract retirement, in which meditation often sank into indolence, and devotion became fanaticism, and self-sacrifice fostered pride. It accumulated wealth for selfish enjoyment, till it generated an undue temporal power in the hands of the Church. It gathered round self-

formed centres, distinct from, and disturbing the territorial divisions of the Church, till religious orders became gigantic and independent communities, overpowering the regular ministry of the Church, and awing even the State. It attached itself to a foreign influence, and thus made even religion an act of treason. Being founded on self-will and caprice, and removed from external control, it split itself and tore the Church into factions and feuds. And it enslaved its members by vows—vows of celibacy, vows of poverty, vows of profession for life—engagements both contrary to Christian liberty, and stumbling-blocks to the conscience, and often temptations to crime—which superseded the dispensations of Providence—which broke up the family life—which endeavoured to form an artificial world for the growth of Christian virtues, different from the creation of God—and which enabled a foreign power to wield, with enormous strength, an engine for the subjection of the empire, and the disruption of the ties of loyalty.

If such crimes and such evils cannot be avoided, it may be wiser to content ourselves with the weak and ineffective instruments of education which are now in our hands. But what must be the condition of a Church in which they cannot be guarded against—in which Christian men cannot live together and work together in a work of Christian love, without falling into the sins of monasticism? And if the English Church has strength to raise and govern such incorporations, what a field is open to her on every side; and what a stupendous power, at present dormant, will be developed within her!

• Our existing colleges will cease to be mere nominal assemblages, of which the largest portion of members are allowed to reside elsewhere. But the whole collected powers of these bodies will be con-

centrated upon their great task of educating the higher orders, and of diffusing truth throughout the world by their labours in literature and science.

Our hospitals will no longer remain scenes of suffering and of death, almost unmitigated by the consolations of religion—places of healing for the body, with scarcely a thought of that healing of the soul which our blessed Lord especially connected with it. Where there is now a single chaplain to attend and soothe the agonies of hundreds, there will be a community of clergy—and round them, and under their care, will be placed, beneath the same roof, the young who are studying the art of medicine, that they may be saved from the fearful temptations into which they are now thrown, alone and helpless, from the bosom of their homes. And under them will be trained an inferior class of attendants—both male and female, themselves a religious community—that the office of nursing may be discharged, not by cold unsympathising hirelings, but with the patience and holy consolations of Christian love.

We need schools for female children of all classes. And how many females, well born, well educated, but left in poverty, or without domestic duties—widows, orphans, dependents at present upon the bounty of others, or forced to drag out a weary life without occupation and without respect, might be brought together by the hands of the Church, and placed under rule and direction, in a common home, to discharge those many tasks which can only be executed well by the delicacy of a woman's hand!

Our poor are starving. And to be fed, in many, many cases, they may and must be gathered under one roof. But what a contrast between a refuge for the poor, of which religion and religious men were

the spirit and the rulers—where poverty itself was ennobled by the example of our Lord and His own followers—where they who fed shared in the same meals with those whom they relieved—where Christian love could soothe sorrow, and Christian elevation give dignity even to want—where labour could be assigned to the strong, not without the education of their souls, and prayer be made the occupation of the weak and the old—and where the evil-minded could be detected and severed from the good, and delivered over to the prison of the State, without contaminating poverty by confounding it with crime—what a contrast between such abodes and the poor-houses which now blot our fields, and stamp our Christian name with infamy and shame !

¹ We plan home-colonies, and form societies for cultivating our own wastes, instead of driving our destitute brethren upon foreign and desolate shores. And stretching out on every side, there are moors, and mountains, and heaths, which, if the ancient Church were placed upon them, would, in a few years, spring into fertility, and wave with harvests, like the forests, and rocks, and morasses, which, under the same hand, gave way of old to the plough and the spade. But a colony, whether abroad or at home, cannot well be a commercial speculation. Its returns are hazardous and distant. It requires a sacrifice, and a sacrifice cannot be expected except from Christian love. And it needs also government, and superintendence, and encouragement, and to be nursed and fostered into life with a constant and tender care, which selfishness will not undertake. And wherever human habitations are placed, there Christian love will place beside them a house of God, a well-spring of spiritual life. Only let us enlarge our view—only let us gather together even a small body of devoted Christians, aided by the ministra-

tions of a clergy, and under the control of their bishop, and make them, conjointly with the State, the rulers and founders of the settlement, and how many gardens of Eden might be opened in the wilds! how many souls and families transferred from the stifling atmosphere of want, and misery, and sin, in which they now groan and die, to fields where their labour might bless the land, and the Church bless their labour, and the State bless the Church for directing it!

We send out missions to the heathen. And a solitary pilgrim sets forth, bold in his own strength, or armed only with a commission from some precarious, ill-organised association, who have no commission to give, and who are content to pay their annual guineas to that work of Christ in which nothing less is required than our whole selves, bodies, souls, and minds. And soon he returns, if he returns at all, dispirited, and in wonder that his message of peace is rejected, or that if a few seeds of good are sown, they spring up in a night and wither the next morning. But yet how can aught else be expected? What weight of testimony, what authority, what impersonation of holiness and goodness, what exhibition of the Divine image of the Church and of its Lord and Master, and what security for permanence, what power for labour, what analogy to the ordinary dealings of Heaven, can be traced by the heathens, whether civilised or savage, in the self-appointed proclamations and self-formed opinions of a single individual? How the great hierarchies of the East—how even the untutored Indian, must smile in scorn and pity at our solitary missions! A light, indeed, has dawned upon us, but as yet it is faint and broken. We have learned that a single limb without a head has no organisation to preserve existence in itself, or to beget it in others. And we are

beginning to send out bishops as the heads of our missions. But heads, also, apart from bodies, are alike powerless. And at last we may learn, that with every bishop we must send forth a college of clergy. So it was of old. They who converted the world went forth in bodies, and under a head. The system was uniform and universal. Twelve presbyters and a bishop formed a mission. Neither plurality without unity, nor unity without plurality. And until we go and do likewise, England will never become the converter of the heathen; and the great work appointed to it by Heaven will be left to other hands, by a wicked and unprofitable servant.

These are but a few of the practical offices which may be discharged by the Church for the benefit of the empire, as for the glory of God, as soon as her zeal finds its proper vent in the establishment of collegiate bodies. And until the principle of incorporation be reintroduced into its system, it must either remain inactive and impotent, or must waste its energies in producing a series of abortive forms, which will fade and die away with the individuals who project them.

They have no root. As well plant a leaf, and imagine that it will grow into a tree, as commit any work of grandeur and duration to an individual.

But with incorporations once restored, for how many other incidental purposes of blessing may they be applied! How many refuges would be opened for those who have been severed from domestic life — for orphans and widows, for the childless and the unmarried, who now waste their affections and their energies upon false and unworthy objects! How many abodes of discipline and retirement, where penitence might seek counsel and healing, and weep unseen by the world — penitence which now is compelled to steel itself into shamelessness

before the public eye, or to destroy itself in despair! How many holy spots filled with the incense of prayer, and with the memory and the presence of saints, where goodness may be ripened and matured! How many more avenues to heaven, through which the hourly prayers of men may bring down God's blessing on all around them! Then the whole spirit of the Church might be drawn out and set forth, without the danger of irregularity or the dread of offence, under that which removes all jealousy, the rule of a fixed competent authority. Then poverty might cease to be disgrace, when voluntarily practised by bodies possessing the dignity of goodness and of wisdom. Then labour might be employed and faculties developed, and arts called forth, by Christian hands, as in ruder but better days, without grinding the labourer into the dust, or sacrificing the infant and the mother, day and night, in sickness and health, mind and strength, body and soul, in this world and the next, to the Moloch of this generation—the capitalist and the revenue. Then truth might find a home, safe from the doubts, and scoffs, and follies of a world of individuals. Then science might be explored with safety under the wing of the Church, and with depth by united efforts. And the reproach would be wiped from our Church, that it has produced no grand gigantic monument of learning to be compared with the efforts of a communion against which she is compelled to protest. How can colossal works be raised by individual arms? And when the sight of such things aroused in those who have been severed from her a wish to return into her fold—when the zealous no longer sought elsewhere an atmosphere of warmth and piety, and the energetic were supplied with fields for their labours, and the poor could be received even into the offices of the Church, and be

dignified in her employments, from which they are now excluded by the expenses of education — when a multitude of arms could be employed simultaneously and steadily in evangelising our own heathen population; and when the being and character of the Church was no longer an invisible mystery, surrounded by perplexities and defaced by inconsistencies, but a palpable present reality, which all might see and love — then within the same walls might be found that temporary shelter, so needed for minds in a state of transition, dislodged from their past errors, but not yet grounded in the truth — minds which, in the struggle of doubt, are tempted so severely by pride and self-conceit, as well as by fear — minds in which the roots of past evil still remain, and spring up hourly in the midst of reviving good, and which, without instruction, and discipline, and example, and rest — driven violently in scorn and indignation from one fold, and not yet received trustfully into another — in so many instances make shipwreck of their faith entirely, and render the name of convert almost synonymous with infidel and profligate.

These are no new or strange thoughts even in the present day. There is a stirring all around us; a craving in some minds for a higher and more spiritual life — in others, for rest and quiet amidst a world of restlessness — in others, for an arm of power to save and bless the world — in others, for a firmer rule of discipline over their wayward hearts — in others, for a purifying spirit to correct and heal the bitterness of the waters of strife — in others, for some real world of deeper mystery, of vaster hopes, of more heroic grandeur, than they can find in the intrigues and calculations of an age swayed by money and by fashion. And it is no idle aspiration which, even in the mind of the child, turns to

the hermit's cell and the cloistered roof, and delights to wander even among the wrecks and ruins of holy houses, as seeking there food for the fancy and elevation for the affections. And there are springs of bounty ready to gush out as of old, and to supply all that is needed, when objects great enough are offered for great benevolence, and what is given may be given unto generations to come, and be secured upon incorporated bodies, and may bear fruit by their vigour and stability, instead of being wasted and lost in individual caprices. The mouths of thousands are ready with one response. What is the first want of the Church and of the State alike? — religious incorporations. What is the second? — religious incorporations. What is the third? — religious incorporations.

And let us boldly avow it — not intimidated by clamour, and driven from a great truth and grand object by the obloquy of a name. Only, as we value that truth and that object, let us beware of the grievous faults and sins into which the same efforts have fallen before, when they lost sight of that principle of organisation which it has been the object of these pages to suggest, and abandoned the joint rule of the Church and of the State; and, having refused the law of unity established by God in His own episcopacy, recurred to a self-invented unity in the papacy, and from this fell into distraction, and disorders, and vices, which were the ante-type, as they were the cause, of that moral and political chaos from which we are now struggling in almost the death-agonies of a drowning empire.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AND here these pages may be closed. They have brought us from a high and abstract axiom to a practical duty, by stages which would seem to admit no pause or deviation of argument. He who believes that in the nature of the Almighty Creator there is enshrined the awful and inscrutable mystery of a Trinity in Unity, made known to the world through Christ, and communicated to us by Christ through His Church, may well expect to find a similar mystery in the perfection of any Divine work. He may expect to find it in political society; and when he sees before his eyes society almost in a state of ruin — human reason bereft of truth — human will let loose from rule — human belief reduced to fancy — and human association held together only by the conflicts of selfishness — he may pause to examine if the cause of such an evil lies not in some departure from the great model of all good. And when he finds a Church without a State, as in Popery, or a State without a Church, as in England at the present day; and either exclusive unity made the law of society, or exclusive plurality; he will be little surprised that evil should be the end; and he will know no other remedy but a return, under God, to the one great model, and the restoration either of the Civil Power to its functions, as at the Reformation, or of the Spiritual, as now. And when the defects of either are to be supplied, still he will recur to the same model; and where the Church, in its organisation, presents the element of

unity without the element of plurality, as the English Church at present presents, that is, episcopacy, and the parochial system, but no national synod, and no active incorporation of its officers, there he would seek to restore the element of plurality first—and would sum up the grand want, and the medicine of medicines for the evils of the nation in one word—the Incorporation of the Church.

And if the theory be true, the practice must follow; and instead of sitting idly with folded arms and drooping sinews, exclaiming against the apostacy of our civil rulers, or the coldness and weakness of the Church; instead of insulting the mother who bore us by sarcasms on the sins of her sons transferred to herself, or of treasonably plotting to subject her once more to a foreign communion, which bears the outward show of better things only to an eye which never pierced beyond, and which we cannot rejoin without sacrificing the foundations of truth and goodness full as much as by the follies which we fly from,—if we really feel as we profess, and desire what we imagine, the work, even now, may be accomplished of resuscitating the Church and of saving the empire. And it must be commenced by individuals. The movement must proceed from below. It must seek from the State little but kind favour, and due superintendence, and the extension of privileges, which cost nothing. It must begin in the Christian zeal of some few individuals associating themselves for any one of the great works of charity which are now needed—placing themselves under rule—submitting themselves implicitly to their bishop—not extending their operations beyond his diocese—carefully guarding against offences towards weak brethren, yet shrinking from nothing, however elevated, or however strange to the present generation, which is sanctioned by that

external authority to which, as members of the Church, they are subjected — above all, not indulging any dream of an ecclesiastical supremacy and power, which would violate the Divine prerogative of the State, or be unlike the followers of Him who came not to be ministered to, but to minister, and to give Himself a ransom for the world.

As Christ Himself appeared before men, so must His Church appear. He walked in company with His disciples; and He breathed the Spirit upon the College of the Apostles; and His Apostles went forth into the world, not alone, but incorporated each with a body of followers; and this is the word of His own Spirit—"one body and many members;" and "ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. And God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. . . . But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every one severally as He will." ¹

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 27, 11.

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